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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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24 August 1984

**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNGARIANS PROTEST JOINT HYDROELECTRIC PROJECT ON DANUBE

W. Berlin TAGESSPIEGEL in German 6 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by correspondent Gustav Chalupa: "Budapest Discovers Disadvantages, Ill-will Over Border Agreement and Danube Project with Prague"]

[Text] Belgrade, July--Trouble is clearly brewing between Prague and Budapest. The 200 kilometer common Danube boundary from Bratislava to Komarno is the cause. The plan is to fully develop, regulate and make it more navigable and, with two power plants, to contribute to the electrical energy requirements of both bordering countries.

Indeed the treaty as concluded discriminates against Hungary in a way which nurtures intense criticism on the part of the Hungarian public. This criticism does not spare even party chief Kadar and premier Lazar of the Council of Ministers, the father of Hungary's miraculous economic program. Nevertheless, the Budapest leadership confirmed its contractual obligations during the very recent visit of Prague's deputy premier Colotka.

The treaty signed 7 years ago between Prague and Budapest has been put into effect at different rates by the two parties. While considerable construction progress is reported on the Czechoslovak side, Budapest has quietly discontinued construction work since 1981. This led Prague to the serious belief that Budapest might be trying to weaken her with financial difficulties. (Hungary owes the West 8 billion US dollars.) Budapest is presently under obvious strong pressure from public opinion.

In a petition, which bears hundreds of signatures of famous Hungarian scientists, the Budapest leadership is challenged to go so far as to rescind the agreement. Economic and ecological grounds are cited such as the disproportionately high Hungarian share of the cost, amounting to 850 million US dollars, the type of electrical power plants which can merely generate energy for peak periods, while Hungary needs these for normal use periods, the slowing of the current and the falling water level in the Danube causing silting by sand and mud and leading to the muddying of numerous wells in the Danube region. A billion forint would have to be spent annually just to clean up the Danube's water, and that is regarded as an unreasonable burden. Finally, it is also feared that, with the construction of a large port at Bratislava, Hungarian ports, especially Budapest, would decline in importance.

Of course the Bratislava port is a joint CEMA project, planned as the last border navigation point facing the West. There is no way that Hungary can pull out of this project, even if opinions differ about it in the party leadership and the government.

The construction plan calls for building two locks and dams: at Gabickov in Slovakia and at Nagymars in Hungary. These will flood the shallows in the Danube's course, which will permit higher tonnage ships to navigate those sections of the Danube. In connection with the direct shipping channel from the Black Sea (Danube-Rhine-Main-Canal) to the North Sea, this takes on some significance. The recently completed Danube-Black Sea Canal in Romania also plays an important role here.

At Gabickov, an electric power station with a potential output of 720 megawatts is to be built and, at Nagymaros, one with 160 megawatts is planned. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has made good progress with the construction of a canal at Gabickov. (This place is, incidentally, named for one of the assassins of Heydrich, the one-time Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia.) This canal will direct water into the Danubian lowlands which will flood areas of Slovakia where many Hungarians live. This represents a further affront to the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, whose situation already gives frequent cause for complaint in Hungary.

12666  
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DATA PUBLISHED ON MIG-23 VERSIONS

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, 1984 (signed to press 11 May 84)  
p 209

[Article by Lt Col W. Kopenhagen: "MIG-23 Interceptor"]

[Text] At the Soviet air parade on 9 July 1967 at Domodedovo near Moscow two fighter planes were introduced, the prototypes of the MIG-23 then under development. One plane with the number 23 on the fuselage had delta-shaped wings and had additional vertical power plants on the fuselage whose air supply occurred through a flap that could be raised from the upper body. This resulted in a reduction of the runway starting distance to 180 to 200 meters. The second prototype, bearing number 231 (exhibited currently at the Monino air museum) had steering and body configuration that closely resembled the above mentioned 23, but had high wings with swept design, in contrast to the low-wing delta wing.

A little later aircraft closely resembling the 231 prototype appeared in units. This model and its two-seat version were followed by an improved model MIG-23M and the two-seater MIG-23UM with improved performance engine R27 (100 kN thrust).

The following model, MIG-23MF, has an engine performance of 120 kN. This version has a small fin placed ventrally. The MIG-23MF gave rise to the fully combat serviceable two-seater training model MIG-23UB, whose profile appears on the back cover of this issue.

In the second half of the 70s the MIG-27 was introduced, being a fighter-bomber development of the MIG-23. The flat nose, drooping considerably from the cockpit, the modified, fixed intakes, a modified turbofin, a six-barrel cannon positioned behind the nose wheel (the MIG-23 models had 23 mm automatic cannon GSch 23L) and the racks positioned directly under the intakes are the outside characteristics of this fighter bomber that can develop maximum speed of Mach 1.7 and a maximum height of 15,000 meters.

The MIG-23BN is another fighter bomber version. It has no radio range finder, rather a laser distance meter, since it is designed not for interception but for ground action. Here, too, a GSch 23 is fixed in the fuselage. The five racks can be used--as is the case with other MIG-23 models--for attaching of various weapon loads or fuel containers.

The MIG-23 is a high wing aircraft. It has a steerable nose strut, an arrow-shaped fuselage with fin rudders, and a lateral, adjustable intake opening. The high wings and the lateral intakes (up to then all MIG models except for test units had a central intake in the front of the fuselage) offered the opportunity to make maximum use of the body for housing the pilot, emplacing special equipment, fuel, engines, as well as the wheels and the braking chute. The needle-shaped nose offers the pilot good vision.

The extensive wheel base ensures high stability on uneven surfaces. The fin protruding from the underside of the tail, a kind of stabilizing surface, is folded to the side during landing, so as not to be damaged.

During flight the pilot can fix the wings in three positions. However, intermediate positions are also possible. The wings are moved by an hydraulic engine, operated by the pilot. He selects the minimum, 16 degree angle, when he has to start, land, or operate in regimes requiring great distances or flight times. To increase the acceleration for starts and landings even further, the wings were equipped with flaps and front slats. During starts and landings the flaps and slats are moved together. The reduced landing speed and wing sweep offer the pilot more time to compensate possible deviations during the approach. This not only improves steering but increases flight safety. The middle wing angle, 45 degrees, is selected when the pilot has to perform simple or complicated acrobatics. A high degree of speed and climb is possible. The maximum sweep (72 degrees) is selected when very high speeds are required at low, medium, or high altitudes. Since the air resistance is then very small, the aircraft will reach supersonic speed even at low altitudes quickly.

Table 1. Tactical-technical Data on MIG-23

Crew	1 man
Length	16.80 m
Wingspan, minimum	8.17 m
Wingspan, maximum	14.25 m
Height	5.50 m
Wing area	27.30 sq m
Payload	8,200 kg
Starting weight	17,500 kg
Maximum speed	Mach 2.5
Maximum altitude	More than 20,000 m
Range	3,000 km
Propulsion: Type	ZTL
Number	1
Model	R 29
Start thrust, maximum	120 kN

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CSO: 2300/606

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

BILAK CTK VISIT--Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee visited the headquarters of CTK, the Czechoslovak press agency, on 18 July. He was briefed by Otakar Svercina, the agency's central director, on CTK's work and problems, and took particular interest in the development of the agency's material-technological base, which was updated by the introduction of an electronic automated system of news processing. This system has accelerated many times the conveyance of CTK's information to Czechoslovak press, radio, and television as well as to press agencies in more than 50 countries in the world. In a conversation, Bilak stressed the important mission of CTK as the main source of information, especially from abroad. He expressed appreciation for the agency's efforts to contribute to the shaping of a socialist public opinion in Czechoslovakia and to implementing the CPCZ's policies. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Jul 84 p 1]

CSO: 2400/389

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

HONECKER STATEMENT ON UPCOMING 12TH WORLD SPORTS FESTIVAL

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Jul 84 p 3

[Interview with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman, GDR State Council, by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent; date and place not specified: "12th World Festival Will Give Strong Impetus to Fight for Peace"]

[Text] [Question] Your immediate political work with youth began already in prewar Germany, in the Young Spartacus League, Germany's communist youth association. In postwar years, the world festival movement evolved and grew strong under your eyes and through your participation. What would you wish for the upcoming 12th World Festival, the Soviet boys and girls, and all who take part in this world youth forum?

[Answer] First I would like to congratulate the Leninist Comsomol on its initiative of hosting the 12th World Festival for Youth and Students 40 years after the victory against Hitler fascism, there being no better spot of radiation than the land from which the peace decree circulated around the globe and that has been for almost seven decades the principal bulwark for socialism and peace in the world.

It gives us special pleasure that precisely the Soviet youth, having done so much for peace and international friendship and for the democratic world youth movement, will sponsor these games. In 1957 already, at the VI. World Festival, we found out what splendid hosts the comsomol members were. Now the Festival is held at a time when the most aggressive U.S. and NATO circles keep aggravating the situation in the world and are threatening the survival of mankind by a nuclear inferno. But this also is the time that the growing potentials of socialism are becoming clearly evident and the peoples' peace movement is spreading mightily. Preserving peace is vital and possible. The meeting of the progressive youth on our planet will contribute to it.

Against all ill-will, the world festival idea is prevailing: "Youth of all nations, one purpose, one courage unites us. Wherever we live, our happiness depends on peace." My generation, the first one to sing that, will be moved while sharing the 1985 Moscow Festival. May the meeting of world youth in the land of the Red October be a full success and become unforgettable to all who take part in it. May it lend a new and mighty impetus to the peoples' worldwide struggle for peace and friendship and against imperialism.

## Recalling the Days of Liberation

[Question] The 12th World Festival will be held during the 40th anniversary of the victory against Hitler Germany, the 40th anniversary of the German people's liberation from fascism. During that spring of 1945, so long ago, after being freed from the fascist penitentiary, you were for a while an advisor to the comsomol secretary of a Soviet unit advancing toward Berlin.

[Answer] One should rather say a "so-called advisor." This is how it all happened. My years of detention that began in December 1935 ended on 27 April 1945 by my getting out of the Brandenburg-Goerden penitentiary, when Soviet tanks broke into the town. We were not ashamed to weep tears of joy while embracing the Red Army men, who had come as liberators, class brothers and friends. I shall always remember the enormous efforts and immeasurable sacrifices the Soviet people made to liberate humanity from fascism.

The first task after being freed from jail was to get to Berlin as fast as possible, to look for comrades and take part in party work. That was not all that easily done. Those were the last days of the war, and scattered fascist holdouts met the Soviet units with stubborn resistance and tried to get to the west, seeking protection by the U.S. Army.

After a series of mishaps, I got into a Soviet union and was assigned as an advisor to the comsomol secretary. I soon found a common language with those comsomol members. I helped them as best I could to find their way under the conditions here with their desires and tempers. I must say that even in that tough situation, the Soviet soldiers, who had borne so much grief and pain, at once set fraternal trust in those Germans who had offered resistance to fascism and been in prisons and concentration camps.

With the Soviet unit in which I was a guest, as it were, I managed to get to the environs of Bernau. On 4 May already I got to Berlin. Fascist soldiers, holed up in basements and on roofs, still kept shooting. Yet already, the city was taking its first steps toward a life in peace, which for me, on party orders, began with working with youth. I am sorry I do not have the names and addresses of the Soviet comrades in whose company I got to Berlin in the spring of 1945.

[Question] The search for Soviet soldiers taking part in the liberation, recently published in NOVY MIR and in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, has already drawn some answers from veterans. Perhaps those with whom you came from Oranienburg to Bernau between 29 April and 3 May 1945 will still respond.

[Answer] I hope so. I already had an opportunity in recent years to meet with Soviet comrades who liberated Brandenburg.

## Relationship with the USSR, a Touchstone for All True Revolutionaries

[Question] The relationship with Germany and all Germans remained wary and suspicious right after the war. What were the relations of the Central Anti-fascist Youth Commission of Germany, later the FDJ, with the youth organizations of other countries, to the WFDY forming at the time, and to the festival movement evolving?

[Answer] Among the goals of the antifascist youth commissions, the later FDJ, was, as you know, along with recruiting youth into reconstruction, educating it in the spirit of international understanding. It was a matter of eradicating the fascist ideology and reacquainting youth with the German people's best traditions. We picked up the legacy of our great humanists, our poets and thinkers, and the legacy of the antifascist resistance fighters. Ernst Thaelmann understood the relationship with the Soviet Union as the touchstone for all true revolutionaries. That is what we used to think already as young communists in the Communist Youth League of Germany. Our bond with the socialist Soviet Union precisely was what gave us courage and confidence in the night of fascism, in the penitentaries, concentration camps and underground.

Many Soviet youth officers, comsomol functionaries in Red Army uniform, gained great distinctions in developing the youth movement among us here. They lent us a helping hand. The FDJ has had firm ties of friendship to the Leninist Comsomol from the very beginning.

The Comsomol also it was that, above the graves and ruins, held out a fraternal hand to progressive German youth and invited it. I headed the first FDJ delegation to Lenin's land. To me it was the second encounter with the Soviet Union. As a student at the international Lenin school of the Comintern in Moscow and a member of an international brigade on work assignment in Magnitogorsk in 1930/31, I had already become personally acquainted with the Soviet people's work of construction.

Our "peace flight to the east" in 1947 was the most important step that led to the international recognition of our youth movement. The friendly FDJ-Comsomol relations greatly helped open the ranks of world youth to the progressive German youth and overcome its international isolation fascism had caused. First we attended only as observers the conferences of the WFDY that had been founded in November 1945. To the 1st World Festival in Prague in 1947 FDJ representatives were not yet invited. Yet already in the late summer of 1947, at the WFDY council meeting in Prague, I was allowed to be the first to report in German on FDJ affairs. FDJ admission came from the WFDY council, unanimously, in August 1948, at Otwock near Warsaw, upon nomination from the Polish delegation. That paid tribute to our efforts in educating our country's youth in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity. In September 1949, the ISL also admitted the FDJ.

#### Fruitful Meeting with Konstantin Chernenko

[Question] As you mentioned your first trip to the Soviet Union, I would like to ask you about your last trip. You recently returned from the top-level economic CEMA conference in Moscow.

[Answer] The results of that conference are of extraordinary importance, I think. Much attention was paid to the economic prospects in the relations among the CEMA countries. More cooperation will help us solve the most important current issues together: Ensuring the needs for energy, raw materials and foods, a speed-up in introducing progressive techniques and technology and high-grade consumer goods. Concrete measures were worked out for a further coordination of the CEMA countries' economic plans.

Nor must the world political problems, especially the problem of European security, be ignored. Those who attended our conference were agreed that no violation of the military-strategic equilibrium must be permitted. We endorse the resolve to do all we can to stop and turn back the arms race. The whole complex of proposals developed by the socialist states remains in effect.

There was also a fruitful meeting in Moscow with our longtime good friend Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko. We found that relations between our countries were progressing successfully. Suffice it to say that total GDR-USSR imports and exports will reach a record of R 14 billion this year. The measures laid down for developing the economic relations are in line with the main trend in the economic strategy of the fraternal parties for raising our peoples' material and cultural standard of living, for a continued growth in the weight of socialism in the world of today.

#### Founding of the GDR--Turning Point in the History of Our People and of Europe

[Question] The 2nd World Festival in Budapest was the first one an FDJ delegation attended. This year brings the GDR's birthday anniversary. In October, the GDR will celebrate its 35th anniversary. How did the first days of the young republic impress themselves on your memory?

[Answer] The founding of the GDR is among the unforgettable events in my life. That turned into reality what the revolutionary German workers movement and the best forces of our people had always been fighting for. We made use of the historic chance offered with the liberation by the Soviet Union and the other powers in the anti-Hitler coalition. The founding of the GDR on 7 October 1949 entered the history of our people and of Europe as a turning point.

On 11 October 1949, hundreds of thousands of girls and boys who had distinguished themselves during the antifascist-democratic transformation and in constructing our FDJ, came for a joint demonstration to Berlin, the capital of our just founded republic. Their lives had acquired a new meaning. Through the streets and squares of Berlin, there echoed resoundingly the song: "Build up, build up, FDJ build up. For a better future we're building up our land!"

Among the most impressive pictures that have stayed with me was the torchlight parade of the FDJ that evening. A joy of life, hope and confidence on all faces. Our country's young generation cheered Wilhelm Pieck, the president of the first German workers and farmers state, and welcomed the young republic.

As the FDJ chairman, I submitted to Wilhelm Pieck the "oath of the German youth." It concluded by these words of allegiance: "We, German youth, swear allegiance to the GDR because it wants to and will bring peace and a better life for youth. We want to be builders of our new house of peaceful labor and militant humanity."

#### When in 1951 Berlin Hosted the 3rd World Festival

[Question] Already in 1951, the GDR capital hosted the 3rd World Festival. Was it easy to sponsor and conduct such an enormous and important event at that time?

[Answer] Above all it was a very beautiful and honorable task to host the democratic world youth. We enjoyed this proof of trust. The time when young Germans, pressed into Hitler's army of aggression, had confronted the other nations as enemies and occupiers, had then, after all, been only a little more than half a decade ago. Now for the first time we got, on peaceful German soil, a massive encounter between young Germans and young people from all countries on all continents. The FDJ appreciated the WFDY proposal to host the 3rd World Festival as an expression of help, as the democratic world youth movement's link with its struggle for peace and progress.

Granted, Berlin was still heavily marked by the wounds the war had inflicted. It was by no means easy to meet the production requirements while mobilizing copious means and capacities for the festival. But with how much zeal the FDJ members in the entire country and the GDR working people got set for this encounter with the peace-loving youth from all over the world!

In view of new imperialist war plans, the participants of the 3rd World Festival audibly proclaimed: We want peace and friendship! In spite of all western attempts at interference, the young envoys from 104 countries together with millions of girls and boys of the GDR and the FRG made a complete success of the 3rd World Festival. Our meeting with Comsomol friends became most affecting experiences there.

#### Sons and Daughters Passing the Relay

[Question] Let us leap over 22 years. In the same Berlin "Stadium of World Youth" the 10th World Festival was opened in 1973. The first secretary of the SED Central Committee, having chaired the GDR National Festival Committee, takes part in its opening. What was new in these years in the festival movement?

[Answer] The idea of bringing together in the World Festivals those of equal mind and have them experience the strength of their peace movement in a unique way, of giving them courage and an impetus for further efforts in the struggle against imperialism and war, that may well be the connecting link among all World Festivals thus far. New in the 10th World Festival was the young generation itself. The sons and daughters of the founders of the democratic world youth movement now carried on the race. Under the conditions of socialism growing strong all over the world, of the forward march of the national liberation movements and the mighty popular movements in the capitalist countries, the democratic world youth movement had become still more substantial. As the president of the GDR's National Festival Committee, I was directly involved in organizing that meeting. I often would recall the 3rd World Festival in 1951. How had our country and how had the whole world changed since!

The world youth representatives came into a blossoming land, an internationally respected state where socialism had triumphed for good. In anticipation of the Helsinki CSCE, these World Festivals significantly contributed to the process of political detente that got started in the 1970's. They turned into an impassioned demonstration for anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship. The pledge to peace, security and international cooperation made by the young generation of the whole earth could not be missed.

### Model of Tried and Tested Communists of Inestimable Value

[Question] As the chairman of the commission boundary working on the new SED program, you have dealt a lot with the theoretical questions in the party's youth policy. How is it being implemented in the GDR?

[Answer] The Ninth SED Congress in May 1976 issued our party program. It determined our people's prospects for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR while creating fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. The time had come to put communist education on the agenda as the basic line of our youth policy. He who wants to build for tomorrow, has to make future requirements his yardstick. Youth education along communist ideals is gaining in importance.

In my experience, the model of tried and tested communists is of inestimable value to youth. Working and fighting in their spirit and appropriating their sense of life is the mission with which we charge the young generation. We encourage them to emulate the example of Ernst Thaelmann. He loved his people and his land; he was an ardent internationalist and a friend of the Soviet Union. He dedicated his whole life to the liberation of the workers class and the victory of socialism and communism.

In all adolescents we want to fashion communist convictions and modes of conduct. We make no detour around any, we leave no one behind. We mainly rely on the great social capacity of the socialist youth association. We pay special attention to toughening the FDJ activists and their core, the young party members.

Dealing with the theoretical questions of youth activity, I keep coming back to the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism. The works of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin form the scientific foundation on which our party's youth policy relies. Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck and Walter Ulbricht were my teachers and models. Following my own experience, I am suggesting to youth to appropriate the scientific world-outlook of the workers class. A firm class standpoint has always been the best compass in the tempests of the time.

Our party abides by the principle that youth can develop successfully only if shown confidence and charged with responsibility. GDR youth could and can spend its energy on the focal points of social development at all times. From it comes a great contribution to the strengthening and protection of our state. The FDJ stands up as an active helper of and reliable fighting reserve for our party.

### A Large Host of Young Fighters Closely Linked with the Party

[Question] Today as 35 years ago, the GDR stands on the outer line of the ideological front. The western border of the republic is not only a national border. There runs the frontier between the two opposing social orders. How is this special location of the republic reflected in the party's ideological work with youth?

[Answer] The founding of the GDR 35 years ago marked a distinct signal for the triumphant march of socialism on German soil. Today, on the dividing line between the two social systems, between the alliances of the Warsaw Pact and of NATO, the GDR is a bastion of peace, a cornerstone of socialism. It is living proof for security and safety, happiness and freedom, a hope to all who seek a peaceful life and social justice, a warning to those who think they can turn back the wheel of history. The FDJ has a great share in that outcome.

In the 35 years of the GDR, very good preconditions were laid down here for bringing up an active and self-assured youth. We have a large host of young fighters, closely linked with the party of the workers class, proud of its pledge to the socialist fatherland, and internationalist in action. Our youth is politically educated, performance-oriented, defense-ready and optimistic. It is wholly dedicated to the socialist revolution and stands ready to deal with any task the party and government might assign.

We know the conviction to be working for the best cause in the world while learning and defending it is among the crucial factors as far as the future of this cause is concerned. And yet it is still clear to us that even under socialist conditions class consciousness is not inherited and does not develop automatically. It therefore remains an ideological effort for all of youth to place communist education at an ever higher level more and more in the center of our responsibility as communists.

Our party is constantly in conversation with the young, discussing with them openly and frankly all the questions that concern them, and it supports FDJ work. In supplying the young people with Marxism-Leninism and, above all, explaining to them the connection between peace and socialism and the causes for the menacing world situation, we instill in them doing all they can for socialism. We also thereby train them for an aggressive ideological confrontation with the enemy. Even the most sophisticated designs by the enemy to separate our youth from our party have failed and are bound to fail. The mass media and millions of visitors from the FRG keep bringing in bourgeois ideology--in German. That, by the way, is not only of disadvantage because, after all, under conditions that are open to the world and through constant confrontation, already the third generation of battle-tested and ideologically toughened young communists is growing up.

All the More Now, Everything for Peace

[Question] In the 12th World Festival slogan, "For anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship," the demand for peace holds, not by chance, the central spot. Late last year the Warsaw Pact states had to make what was no easy decision on necessary military measures to neutralize the new danger invoked by the deployment of the U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe, above all in the FRG. What can be said about the GDR youth's reaction to the rapid exacerbation of the international situation? What tasks does the party assign to youth in this new international situation?

[Answer] The seventh SED Central Committee session has given an answer to the question that moves us all, how things are to continue after the deployment of new nuclear NATO first-strike weapons outside our front-door. We support the

USSR's initiatives for averting nuclear war and its constructive approach to arms limitation and arms reduction, its undeterred peace policy. Proposals were made in Prague and Moscow by the Warsaw Pact member states; they are on the table. Our people is mobilizing under the motto of working all the more now for peace and for the good of the people. That is all the more necessary in that the deployment of U.S. first-strike weapons increases the danger, especially their being in the other German state, the FRG, that another war may emanate from German soil. That also encourages those people who want to revive old revanchist dreams that are aimed against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

Through its Peace Rally, our socialist youth association took an initiative the time required. At the workbench and in the field, in the auditorium and in school, in the sports arena, in the youth club house, and on the troop exercise grounds, youth will do its best to bolster peace and reinforce socialism. "My deed for our socialist fatherland," is the motto followed by millions of girls and boys in our country. They realize working for socialism is the best service to peace. Our youth supports the counter-measures that have to be taken against the deployment of U.S. nuclear first-strike weapons in Western Europe to maintain the military-strategic equilibrium. It is making a great contribution to high fighting strength and combat readiness in the National People's Army. We are proud of our nearly 43,000 youth brigades and 2,300 youth research collectives and encourage handing over to youth the most interesting and important science and technology tasks.

With exemplary results the FDJ members recently prepared their National Youth Festival in Berlin as a political mass demonstration on behalf of peace and the consolidation of socialism. This organizational FDJ meeting became a mighty show of allegiance to peace and socialism by the girls and boys. More than 750,000 young people took part in it. We are glad about this contribution by youth to the performance show of socialism in the GDR's 35th year. Our committed young generation proves our youth policy stands up in life.

#### The FDJ Activists of Today Are the Party Activists of Tomorrow

[Question] A son of miners and steel workers came to head the party and the government. Something like that, unthinkable in capitalism, is considered normal in our countries. What role does political work with youth play in your life? How does the FDJ functionaries' work affect your way of life today?

[Answer] As a proletarian child I learned early that the exploiter society can be abolished only by the organized strength of the exploited and that no one is too young for that struggle. In the Young Spartacus League, in the Communist Youth Association of Germany, and in the FDJ I met friends, equal-minded, loyal to the communist ideals and dedicating to them all they had. I shall never forget the meetings with Ernst Thaelmann, whose young guard we always considered ourselves. Nor could almost 10 years of fascist incarceration bend my will to dedicate myself to the cause of human liberation. For two decades it was my job to work politically with young people directly.

Like myself, many communists proving their mettle today on the various sectors of society, met their first crucial revolutionary test in the ranks of the youth association. Life has long confirmed that the FDJ activists of today are the party activists of tomorrow and that our party and state functionaries and economic and military cadres pass through the school of the FDJ. To this day it has been a constant need to me and a great pleasure to meet young people, explain our party policy to them, and speak with them frankly and sensibly about all matters that pertain to our struggle for strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace.

Nothing can be of greater concern to a communist than to inspire young people for our lofty goals, hand on his experience of life to youth and help forge the revolutionary unity of the generations. Ernst Thaelmann said it was a vital question for the revolutionary movement that the communists attract the youth to the revolutionary goals. That has also been my guideline to this day.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CATHOLIC JOURNAL EXHORTS BELIEVERS TO STAY, PROVE THEMSELVES

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German No 7, Jul 84 pp 5-7

[Article by K. Hiekisch: "The GDR as the Homeland of Catholics"]

[Text] "We are convinced the dark clouds of war danger moving across the world and filling the peoples with anxiety will be successfully dispelled. More weapons do not bring more security. We resolutely advocate an equilibrium at a steadily diminishing arms level and disarmament in East and West." Those are sentences of an article by GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker for the April issue of the Austrian journal WEST-OST-JOURNAL. They define the position our republic and its leadership have on the tense world situation of today.

A few days after that contribution was published, Erich Honecker affirmed the continuity of this peace policy in a letter to the president of the French Association of Resistance Fighters and War Victims. "Nothing is more important to the GDR," he asserted, "than helping prevent a nuclear catastrophe together with all forces prepared for an understanding. Even in its hour of birth, 35 years ago, the GDR solemnly committed itself to doing everything so that never again a war would emanate from German soil. It has done what it possibly could since; it has always been impressed by that... in the nuclear age there is no alternative for the peaceful coexistence policy and that military conflict would mean the destruction of the earth."

Those words are neither propaganda theses nor self-flattery but a palatable reality and experience of innumerable people. As a state of peace and bastion of antifascism--so it is formulated in the appeal for the 35th anniversary--the GDR enjoys high respect and great sympathy among the nations.

--As a first in German history there now is a state in which the socioeconomic premises and causes for war policy and war were radically eliminated.

--As a first in German history there now is a state in which the peace policy is a constitutional mission, laws guard the peace, and all popular forces regard themselves as elements of the all-inclusive peace movement.

--As a first in German history there now is a state that raises no territorial claims against other countries, recognizes existing borders without reservation, and is ready to settle all problems through peaceful means exclusively.

## Favorable Conditions for Working for Peace

The Dresden synod resolutions--as much as they may lack solidity at the first glance in terms of the answers they give to questions about the testimony and service in the socialist society of the GDR--are in many respects a belated confirmation of the correctness of the work practiced jointly between Christians and non-Christians over many years for peace and human well-being. "Life in the diaspora demands that we are living our Christian existence not just for ourselves or rate it superficially in terms of the gains and detriments that might arise from it for us. Many queries from our environment must be understood as a challenge to gain a deeper comprehension of the message and spread it anew. In this, we will have to take leave from many habits and conventional modes that unnecessarily encumber the confession of faith. Moreover, life among non-Christians indicates that the spirit of God also rules outside the Christian communities" (Faith Today, pp 35 to 40). Elsewhere it is stated: "Christians are called upon to arouse and guard the peace sentiment by word and example together with all other people of good will who see peace rooted in the order of justice and love" (The Service of the Church to Atonement and Peace, p 18).

In our country and our society, Christians find the most favorable conditions conceivable for it. Here they no longer need to seek justice, humanity and peace as standing in contradiction to the prevailing order, but they can be sure: Once they help extend and further perfect socialism, they work for greater social justice and real humanity and help make peace more secure.

Bourgeois propaganda keeps trying to present the situation of the Christians and the churches in the GDR as if they were permanently burdened by problems and conflicts. There are of course tensions, especially "in situ." But where are they absent wherever people live together? No one claims socialism is a "safe world" or "paradise on earth." And yet it is a fact that in the capitalist world the gospel message of peace, the invoking of humanity and brotherhood for Christians, stands in a polarity of tension to the real social givens. Many people who thought in recent months they should have to leave our republic have perceived that in very personal terms.

## "This Is the Soil on Which God Placed Us"

"God's mission assigns the development of the world to man, as Christians know. This mission places us at the service of the future and has us work together with all men of good will to make the world more human and organize the life of men in justice, peace and liberty" (Pastoral synod resolution, "Faith Today," p 69). This mission is given us here, as Catholics in the GDR. That is an essential experience in the 35th year after the founding of our state: In many different ways we are tied to this land as its Catholic citizens, not least by the efforts on behalf of peace and men's well-being. A few weeks ago, Cardinal Joachim Meisner, at the abbesses' consecration in the Alexanderhof Convent, made that clear by saying: "This is the soil on which God placed us, and here we have to prove ourselves. That is why this land to us is no strange, let alone hostile, earth."

--The GDR was founded in 1949 as a state by all the forces in the National Front. It has since been borne, shaped and accounted for by all citizens, whatever their world-outlook or religious faith. That particularly applies to the peace policy--and not only because that provides us with the largest "common denominator," as it were, but because it is a question of survival that affects Christians and atheists alike.

#### Reservations and Developments

The togetherness of people with diverse world-outlooks did not develop without problems and conflicts among us, for all that. For Christians it was important to shed old social ties and drop the idea that the bourgeois order was more compatible with Christian thought than was socialism. Many a Catholic would use the Christian faith as a sort of "protective shield" against the new society. You would often run into the word of "hibernating" among Christians 30 and more years ago. And church authorities then added their own in reinforcing such a posture in members of the congregations. One bishop in our land proclaimed in 1956: "We are living in a house the foundations of which we did not build ourselves and even think they are wrong. We shall gladly contribute to living as Christians still in this house, in human dignity, but we cannot add another floor to it. This house remains a strange house to us."

Catholic Christians in our republic have gained different insights meanwhile. An appeal from Erfurt, passed by 350 members of Catholic congregations from all parts of our country in preparation of the 15th GDR anniversary in 1964, said: "We Catholic citizens of the GDR attest, through our public activity, to our state's love for peace and will to build, as it bases, as a first in German history, its policy on international friendship, peaceful coexistence, and the renunciation of the use of force for settling international problems. We Catholic GDR citizens take part in socialist construction, aware of that the socialist order not only ensures an undisturbed practice of religion but also offers better chances than previous social orders for fulfilling the Christian commandments of "love your neighbor like yourself" and "peace on earth!'" That Erfurt meeting had been preceded by similar events involving Catholic citizens within the framework of the National Front--as in Bautzen, Dresden, Cottbus, Magdeburg, Schwerin, Halle and Worbis.

Five years after that event in Erfurt, Cardinal Alfred Bengsch, just before the 20th GDR anniversary, gave a sermon in Bernau on the pilgrimage of men, which included these remarks: "We are perfectly willing to recognize anything done truly for the good of men, were it only for the reason that Christians have shared in the work for that everywhere. Grateful to God, we will also be able to say: the church could take care of its pastoral duties and, to be honest about it, it often did get more of a chance for it than it made use of."

The first GDR cardinal thereby expressed himself positively about the commitment by those Catholic Christians who actually displayed in practice what Bishop Hugo Aufderbeck years later expressed in connection with the Dresden pastoral synod as follows: "The diaspora congregations and their members do not live way-off, not in a ghetto, are not tempted by encapsulation or flight from the public, and do not sound the retreat into a wind-protected corner of church life (sacristy Christianity!)."

More and more emphatically the realization comes to prevail today: Whether Christians and churches effectively assume their service in the world depends primarily on their position and on what they do for peace. That insight also increasingly governs the discussion in our congregations. The pastoral letter from our bishops of 2 January last year underscores and generalizes this experience: "With the increasing fear of a possible war, nearly everywhere in the world the will to serve peace actively is spreading. That is a sign of hope that cannot be ignored. Nor can it be ignored that precisely through the Christian faith the peace commitment receives a strong impetus."

This impetus becomes perceptible where Christians in our land--moved by God's message of love to men and by the ethos of the love to one's neighbor and for peace--together with communists and men of other humanist persuasions assume the joint responsibility for the highest good of humanity.

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SCRIPTURE IN SUPPORT OF ECOLOGY: A CATHOLIC VIEWPOINT

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German No 7, Jul 84 pp 8-10

[Article by E. Brock: "Reflections on Environmental Protection"]

[Text] "You are the gardeners of this world. But if the gardener only mows and cuts off, what sort of garden will he then get!" This continuation of the Sermon on the Mount by a contemporary Indian Jesuit might sound somewhat strange, unusual, unbiblical, but it hits the mark precisely in the situation we find ourselves in. More than ever it is up to us today to reflect on how responsibly the creation must be dealt with, man's impact on nature having reached completely new dimensions. The relationship of man and society to nature never was without problems, yet since today the reproducible and nonreproducible resources are being exploited ever more comprehensively and the volume and noxiousness of the waste products are growing, the balance between man and nature having obviously been upset, it is necessary to refashion it anew. That in turn calls for new thought, for which theology can give us helpful impulses.

At times theology is unjustly blamed for sharing the responsibility for man's boundless exploitation of nature as it had invoked the ongoing exhaustion of nature by the biblical proclamation of the mission to rule. That biblical mission, however, never was a call for piratical action, for a capricious dealing with nature. For a negligent or destructive dealing with nature there is no substance in Scripture. When one reads Genesis attentively, one will soon find that domination there goes hand in hand with guarding and preserving, that man is charged with caring for creation. The biblical mission to dominate is primarily a mission to shape and "no Magna Charta for implacably dominating nature, no license to anthropocentric arrogance," as the social ethicist Martin Rock remarks. The Aachen Bishop Dr Klaus Hemmerle called man the gardener of creation, who has the say-so in it, to be sure, but whose say-so always is subject to God's call. One might perhaps add: He is the architect of creation who is to make the best out of what he finds. So it is always a matter of custodianship, of shaping of what is in one's trust.

Accountability to God's Creation

Genesis shows man received the mission to dominate from God himself, who is and remains the lord and creator of the heavens and the earth. The earth, as the Psalmist emphasizes, is first and foremost God's earth. "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein," says Psalm 24. True enough, man is to rule over history, but as God's deputy, in his

image, by his measures. That at once expresses we cannot deal with the earth at will. We always have to question the intention of whoever appoints us governor, hands us the earth as a gift. Man's domination thus must conform to the norms of the act of creation, which had but one purpose: God saw that all was good. In dealing with nature and its treasures, this must be a binding objective to us. Any use of nature opposing that can no longer be seen as a continuation of the act of creation. A boundless exploitation of the resources, a destruction of the natural environment, an endangering of the biological balance--none of that is part of God's design.

"Whatever we do," a document of the Austrian bishops conference says, "we also always set thereby switches for the future." That points to another aspect of the environmental problems: We must conduct ourselves today in such a way that future generations can still live. "Let us take the world so that it remains a gift we can hand on to others," the Aachen bishop declared. Being alive today, we have to consider in all we do the good of future generations also, being accountable for the chances to live for those who come after us.

Another thought also seems significant: Man meant to rule nature still does not face it as a subject. Rather, he is tied in with it, rooted in it. We can sense that every day. The lack of vegetation not only affects the water budget, it also burdens our organism. "Trees can live without men, but men, not without trees." In other words: Man can fulfil himself neither without nor against nature, and so he can make nothing absolute of his attitude toward nature. Above and beyond that, it is his task to help lead this world, into which he is tied, to perfection and ultimate redemption because all of creation is tied to the fate of man's salvation.

Man has the mission to shape creation, he is God's governor in it, he must pass it on to future generations as a gift and must never forget that he is not merely facing it as a subject but is embedded in it--to recall all this seems of the greatest importance in view of the significance increasingly attaching to ecological problems. Solving environmental problems is indispensable for the survival of humanity. Believers cannot and must not be neutral to it. They are under the obligation to side with the threatened creatures and all creation.

#### Environment and Society

In asking what is to be done, an individual soon finds that environmental problems cannot be considered and resolved in isolation from society. Sure enough, under socialist as well as capitalist conditions industrial development, the increasing technification of our life, the increased consumption of consumer goods and their waste products will affect our environment. Yet there is a big difference: In capitalist society, products made are meant to age as fast as possible so that they are soon scrapped and junked and man is induced to buy new ones. The socialist order, in contrast, orients its production to thrift in the handling of natural resources and to as long a use of the products as possible. For good reasons one calls capitalism a "cast off society." All that counts is profit. Appearance and packaging do not go by utility criteria but are rated by promotional aspects. That such methods right there cost immense amounts of resources is often overlooked.

Still escalating arms also put an immense stress on the environment. That does not only cost a lot of money, raw materials and energy, damage occurs also in different ways--let alone the consequences of nuclear explosions. That alone makes the struggle against the arms race that imperialism has triggered a compelling necessity.

The GDR has done a great deal for environmental protection in recent years. Not all problems can of course be resolved at one and the same time, yet environmental protection is and remains an inseparable element of our economic and social policy. In the last 2 years, e.g., our output and national income increased while the consumption of raw materials, energy and semifabrics dropped. Though industrial production rose by one third since 1957, water requirements stayed almost constant. At all that, M 2.3 billion were still saved, and from industrial water supply installations 3.1 million cubic meters of water became available to the central drinking water supply. And whoever may be of the opinion that increasing rough lignite mining comes at the expense of environmental protection should be told that the area put again into use since 1970 is larger than what was needed for open-pit mining. Comprehensive measures also have been introduced for forests with smoke damage. There was a reforestation of 20,000 hectares in woodland per year. Despite the doubling of industrial commodity production, the sulphur dioxide emission has remained constant since 1971. Finally: the use of industrial by-products rose from 20 to 37 percent between 1975 and 1982. Some 11.5 percent of industrial raw material requirements is covered now by secondary raw materials.

The last mentioned figures particularly bring out that environmental problems, while they are primarily to be solved by society, yet challenge and obligate the individuals. That then also answers the question of what an individual can do about environmental protection, only that everybody must then also be willing to use the public opportunities for helping, changing and improving. Wherever possible, one should seek cooperation. Let us recall the activities of the National Front under the citizens' initiative, "More Beautiful Towns and Communities--Join-in!" Tens of thousands of helpers are needed for plantings around housing communities, agricultural plots and water protection.

#### Doing Away with Negligence and Indifference

In many ways an individual can help protect the environment from damage and other harmful exploitation. One will have to change one's thoughts and turn around for that. We should ask ourselves day after day how we are treating our creation, what we are doing to it. Probing one's conscience that way will leads us into thrift, care and orderliness. This is of course not a matter of "returning to a preindustrial idyllic existence or one that is an 'alternative' for modern industrial production where everyone puts together by the simplest 'natural' means whatever his vital needs may be" (Wolfgang Heyl). Yet we should deal less negligently with what we have and do away with all indifference.

A concrete example for a certain negligence, e.g., is found in that right now nine out of ten crown fittings are still being junked in the GDR. If one considers that 10 billion of such fittings are annually needed and that 20,000 tons of sheet metal must be used to make them, one can easily see what consequences or negligence has. Or this: still many bottles end up in the garbage

although for producing 17 million bottles, i.e. one per person in the GDR, 2.7 million cubic meters of gas, 10,000 cubic meters of glass sand, 1,700 tons of soda, and 4,600 tons of lignite are needed. And how much new lumber must still come down because old paper is still not being used as secondary raw material but is burnt! Burning only one kilogram of old paper per GDR household is equivalent to destroying 50 to 60 hectare of woodland.

Insouciance now also often leads to wasting water needlessly in households. We should always remember: the more often we open the tap and the longer we keep it open, the higher becomes the need for drinking water and the amount of run-off which, moreover, often still gets polluted by the needless use of detergents. Another consequence of thoughtlessness and indifference then also is the destroying of green spots. To gain a few seconds, many fellow-citizens drag their feet across lawns.

There is an African saying: "Where everything is burnt, no fire can be started." In other words: when the environment is irremediably destroyed, no human life can exist any longer. We are all called upon to see to it that the history of creation does not become a history of disintegration.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

HIJACKING EDP SPECIALIST'S EMIGRATION BOUGHT

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 38 No 29, 16 Jul 84 pp 41-42

[Article: "Red Backpack--Bonn Has Ransomed the First GDR Plane Hijacker"]

[Text] Shortly after Prague the pilot of the Tupolev-134 A, Interflug Flight No 302, banked his plane sharply to the left. "We are doing everything," he announced to the 77 passengers, "to prepare for an emergency landing." Siegfried Kuehne, booked from Berlin-Schoenefeld to Budapest, knew what the sudden change in course meant. "I thought," he commented, "events were now taking their course."

They were, but not according to plan. With an anonymous bomb threat Kuehne, employed by Interflug as a programmer himself, wanted to force the machine to land at the West Berlin Tempelhof airport. The first known hijacking of a scheduled GDR jet ended, however, a short time later on a runway at Poprad in Slovakia, at the foot of the High Tatra.

This, even though Kuehne had prepared the coup so carefully--or so he thought.

The EDP specialists, who had refused membership in the SED, had been at odds with GDR bureaucrats and his superiors since 1974. At that time the Interflug administration bought its first "videotron" computer system from Hungary. Before then the GDR airline, which has about 7,000 employees, had farmed out its data processing: sometimes to the National Railway Administration in Dresden, sometimes to the Rail Vehicle Institute in Gruenau, sometimes to the computer center for domestic trade in Leipzig.

The new computer did not, however, bring relief. Returning from a training course in Budapest, programmer Kuehne warned his superiors: "For God's sake, what sort of a crutch are you buying?" It soon became apparent that the computer was unable to handle the steady load of Interflug's central operations at Schoenefeld. The equipment was frequently down and the Soviet-supplied start-stop mechanism of the magnetic tape machines was so noisy that its operators requested earmuffs. Kuehne remarked: "The days when the computer operated at 100 percent were rare."

Even though the data processing personnel minimized the damage to the best of its ability through improvisation and overtime, plans were not met and schedules not kept. Interflug's bosses blamed the project leaders and did not tolerate criticism of the EDP system. In Kuehne's words: "It was like talking to a wall."

To compensate for the frustrations of the job, the programmer sought escape through brief visits to socialist fraternal countries. Using his airline passes, he attended summer seminars in Bulgaria about 20 times. Kuehne used this opportunity to pursue his hobby, study of Slavic languages, and to engage in discussions with students from capitalist countries--being privy to secrets, he was not allowed contacts with the West--about the inhospitable GDR.

As difficulties in the job mounted and his marriage broke up, the experienced air traveler Kuehne was planning the great escape: With Interflug to West Berlin.

What he wanted to achieve thereby was to alert the international public to "the Central European tragedy" of human rights violations and "also to give other people a chance to leave the GDR."

Disguising his handwriting, he composed an anonymous bomb threat with black drawing ink using a "Markant" pen of the type used by draftsman. The threat directed the commercial airliner of IF 302, Berlin-Budapest, to approach the Tempelhof airport with lights blinking. It also warned that an explosive charge was on board "in a red knapsack" which would be triggered through circuitry connected to an altitude meter if the plane descended below 120 m. The mechanism could only be aborted in time at Tempelhof through radio signals from two accomplices on the ground.

Hijacker Kuehne got the idea for this complicated procedure from an American film which Western TV had aired years ago. Kuehne placed the letter into an envelope together with a folded card with the inscription "Merry Christmas" and addressed it to the "Captain and His Crew."

The amateur Kuehne saw to it himself that the strange airmail letter reached its addressee. He checked in for the Budapest flight at Schoenefeld on 20 December and secretly placed the envelope into his neighbor's seat pocket. His neighbor found the envelope when he wanted to check the route map, handed it to a stewardess and joked: "This must be the Christmas bonus for the crew."

The captain and his crew were not amused by the holiday greetings. The stewardess, "white as a sheet" according to Kuehne, questioned him and other passengers about the letter's content and origin. After the copilot was also unsuccessful in his investigation, the crew decided to look into the matter more extensively.

They collected all passenger tickets and baggage checks and, to Kuehne's surprise, entered the baggage room through a hatch in the cockpit. The owner of the red knapsack was to be identified.

And he was indeed discovered--he was a Dutchman who knew nothing. Kuehne had checked a green suitcase for himself and relied on a red knapsack to be on board since, according to his previous observations, that was always the case.

The search of the ominous piece of luggage while still in the air yielded no results. Kuehne realized that this amateurish plot had failed: "I saw that my whole plan was disintegrating."

The captain, however, was taking no chances. He changed course and approached the runway of the Slovakian town of Poprad, 718 m above sea level where, almost 600 m above the critical altitude, the presumed explosive would not be detonated. The would-be abductor said: "This airport did not even occur to me."

In Poprad half-a-dozen passengers were interrogated for 5 hours, but even security officers flown in from Prague were unable to pinpoint the culprit who was the last passenger to pass unmolested through baggage control after a particularly thorough interrogation before IF flight 302 continued to Budapest with another airplane.

Authorities, however, suspected the Interflug employee Kuehne even then. Only an insider would know details about an altitude meter controlled bomb; only someone in the know would feel confident that the fairy tale about explosives in a knapsack would be taken seriously. Contrary to regular suitcases, tourists' knapsacks, as bulky pieces of luggage, are generally not x-rayed for weapons before departure.

Kuehne, nevertheless, spent the turn of the year unmolested with friends in Budapest. Discarding any ideas about escaping across the Hungarian border, he returned to Berlin. There he was met by two men in civilian clothes who asked him very politely to accompany them for another interrogation. Kuehne was not only given coffee and cutlets but also drawing equipment with a "Scribent" trademark and black India ink.

Again and again he was asked to provide handwriting samples, copying articles from the SED party organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: "stupid articles about economic policies." After 17 hours of interrogation Kuehne broke down in the early morning of 4 January 1984 and confessed - He was hoping that his coup would be excused as a boyish prank.

However, the municipal court of Berlin-Mitte was not merciful. Authorities had caught other GDR citizens before who were preparing an escape to the West by hijacking planes--following the example of Poles and Czechs. Kuehne was sentenced to 8 years in prison for a serious case of hijacking an airplane on the much-traveled A 4 route from Prague to Budapest and for flight from the Republic. The federal government bought his freedom in May of this year. But first he had to sign a note at the government's notary office in Karl Marx Stadt: 48,122 marks for damages to Interflug plus 4 percent interest, as well as court costs and lawyers' fees--a total of 53,411.43 marks plus 112 marks for fees.

The State Security Service is holding the hand luggage of the abductor as security. It was filled with fire works and noise makers for New Years Eve celebrations. The joker Kuehne had intended to detonate these items, instead of a bomb, upon his safe arrival in Tempelhof "as a symbol of freedom."

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'DROP-OUT' IDEOLOGY OF WEST SAID TO POSE NEGATIVE INFLUENCE

Western Commentary

Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 30 Jun-1 Jul 84 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text] We read in the East Berlin periodical JUNGE GENERATION, which was not affected by the strike, that capitalism has made a downright devilish discovery. With this the "ruling circles" in the West want to "have an influence on youth in the socialist countries." It concerns the "ideology of dropping out." The paper published by the FDJ warns young people in East and West against this bacillus (those in the West for the reason that the infectious germ weakens the protest movement). That is a surprise to anyone who still has the lament of the spokesmen for our capitalistic employers about the aversion to achievement of drop-out youth in his ear. It is now apparent that this was just camouflage, so to speak the protective laboratory atmosphere in which the agents of the disease were first cultivated and multiplied so that now they can be released in quantity to produce an antisocialist epidemic in the countries of the East.

Drop-outitis worries the authorities and youth functionaries of the GDR. The fact that the young people aren't working perhaps disturbs the GDR bourgeoisie with old-German feelings; even economic functionaries are not particularly concerned about some voluntary unemployed in view of the increase of productivity even in the GDR. The entrenched Marxists, however, see the world law overthrown when there are always hasty people who arbitrarily seek the Realm of Freedom, announced by Karl Marx while social development continues to stick in the Realm of Necessity. The final goal of Communism--"From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs!--is still far off. The Soviet Union is already in the phase of perfection of socialism, the GDR limps decently behind and has only just reached the stage of building up the developed socialist society. So young people cannot just say they prefer gym shoes to building.

The Marxist law of the revolutionary course of world history does not provide for the drop-out. Its end product is the all-around development of the socialistic personality, which strives for higher education, for meaningfully employed leisure time and is creative. Material needs, such as the slave to consumption has, are perceived as unreasonable by this mature socialistic personality, whereby also many a supply problem resolves itself. But the law commands that this personality may only appear in a later phase of the social process. Natural rejection of consumption, as practiced or at least propagated by the drop-out, is thus a revolt against the orderly revolution and may not exist. As is ever clearer, the all-around developed personality does not simply emerge as soon as capitalism has been abolished. It must be schooled so that it does not develop the wrong true needs, for example the need for self-determination.

#### Effects on Youth Analyzed

East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION in German Vol 37 No 6, 1984, pp 20-21

[Article by Dr Wolfgang Billerbeck, Academy of Pedagogic Sciences of the GDR, Section for Pedagogy in Foreign Countries]

[Excerpts] The participation of young people is growing above all in the peace movement and in activities for protection of the environment and against the worsening of living conditions. The tendency to strive to live in bourgeois society differently from hitherto is being strengthened. Simple, ascetic life styles, renunciation of wealth, profit, technical progress, standard of living and security are being realized. This is occurring with a turning away from the State and from the bourgeois parties and the prevailing bourgeois morality.

#### ILLUSION: "Human" Capitalism

So-called alternative projects exist in the United States and Western Europe. In the FRG they developed primarily in the Seventies and today number many more than 10,000 in which about 80,000 people work. About 300,000 to 400,000 people have a certain relationship to these alternative projects. Among them are occupational projects, whose members live from their work in the project; leisure time projects, whose members perform volunteer, unpaid work; and projects in which both forms exist. There are said to be about 600 rural communes in the FRG. Here an in part technically primitive, but "compatible with nature" working of the soil takes place, forms of a precapitalistic method of production in rural communes and workshops.

It is an illusion to assume that capitalism would develop according to the ideas of the "drop-outs." "Dropping out" as a form of protest against bourgeois society remains an isolated phenomenon in relation to the working class and the totality of the employed. But isolation with manifestations of the insulation of the protest movement, even when it has

an anticapitalistic direction, leads to the weakening of the entire protest movement and to misunderstanding the role of the working class as the only social force which can fundamentally transform capitalist conditions. For that the Communists have a revolutionary and practical course of solution which many alternatives basically are looking for.

Conservative reactionary powers, sections of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the organs and mass media which they control speak disparagingly of "drop-outs" as primitive and as "disturbers of the peace;" they are in part disparaged as "agents of Moscow," "pacifists" and "crazies." The capitalist system shoves a portion of people to the edge of society.

"Dropping out" is in fact no alternative. In a situation in which the struggle for peace and against the atomic threat to humanity makes necessary a common action by the forces of youth, it is politically very important not to set the directions of the protest movement, of the alternative movements, and of "dropping out" in opposition to each other, nor to set the "drop-outs" against the most progressive element of the youth whose political struggle is being carried on with a clear perspective.

#### INTENTION: Disparagement of Socialism

It is in the interest of ruling circles in the capitalist world to have an influence on youth in socialist countries with an ideology of "dropping out." "Dropping out" is offered as a desirable ideal. In this way antisocialist attitudes are to be stamped on to youth. Young people are no longer to commit themselves to socialism, take no social responsibility, reject work and achievement and with their isolated life style finally put socialism in question. These are intentions which are directed against the social and personal interests of people in socialism. Deeds for socialism are always worthwhile for the individual and the betterment of his living conditions. We confront "dropping out" with the practice in real socialism: "Plan with us, work with us, rule with us." For the wellbeing of the individual and socialist society.

12523  
CSO: 2300/585

HUNGARY

'INDEPENDENT' ENVOY TO PERUGIA DISCUSSES DIFFICULTIES

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 27 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Judit Mariassy: "I Think Differently"]

[Text] "As soon as Saint Francis personally experienced the suffering of war, he travelled to Perugia, Arezzo and Siena without concern for his own fatigue.... With his companions he travvled the length of Italy, casting out evil spirits and bringing into blossom the fruits of the Spirit's true flowers: brotherhood and peace." The quote is taken from the pamphlet a monk is selling for 300 liras in Assisi, in the church named for Saint Francis. A few reproductions of Giotto's famous frescos can also be seen in it, with explanation of the pictures above them: legends about the saint. The brochure--with its faint print--is good only for recollecting the experience, the amazement of personally seeing the frescos. Giotto's colors are practically in flame. According to my friend Zs. Sz., they even did too good a job restoring them. We argued about this for a few minutes, but there is no longer any disagreement between us in the semidarkness of the lower church. We are all captivated by the place where the casket of Assisi's saint is guarded.

Actually, we have gotten here as escapees, the three of us Hungarian newspaper reporters, to seek relief for a few hours from the excitement, scandals and passionate verbal battles of the END's (European Nuclear Disarmament) third convention. Because there, among 1,300 invited and voluntarily participating friends of peace who are participating at their own expense, in the plenary sessions, sectional meetings, on the street and in the pizzerias we can experience from morning till midnight that the fruit of the Spirit's true flower is having difficulties ripening.

Fourteen of us got on the plane in Ferihegy [Budapest] to travel through Rome to Umbria's capital: besides the peace council's delegation, two accredited newspaper reporters and three so-called "independents," invited by the Bertrand Russel Peace Foundation. I received late the foundation's letter sent to me by Mr Ken Coates and offering the cost of the stay there plus travel expenses, and the reply to my telegram thanking him for it (which also contained the convention's program) arrived only after the stormy days in Perugia, thanks to the Hungarian Postal Service--exactly 2 days after the Hungarian press conference. The reporters received this with unexpected

interest. One of the Italian organizers escorted us from the originally assigned small room to a spacious one. There were six of us sitting at the long table in order to answer questions. Professor Laszlo B. Sztanyik was presiding, on his right sat Andras Simonyi, one of the leaders of the peace council's youth and student committee, Tamas Lovassy representing the disarmament commission, and the three independents: Ferenc Koszegi, Andras Hegedus and myself. Unpeaceful and peaceful reporters, spokesmen for various social and church organizations, released an avalanche of questions on us, interrupting each other: "tough one", well-intentioned ones, and ones deriving from lack of being informed. And we answered them, everyone according to his or her ideology, affiliation, knowledge and personality, that is, in very different ways, with only one common characteristic: honesty. Now that we have returned home and I listen again to the tape-recorded open conversation, I understand Ken Coates, who made this request to the foreign reporters: let it be known that the Hungarians assisted in the END's Third Convention, in better understanding between the socialist countries and the West, with serious and tiresome work, and he expressed his thanks for it on his own behalf as well as on behalf of the Russel Foundation.

So now we could pat ourselves on the back. We did a good job. But it is also part of the truth: this was not easy.

Even if there were no space limitations on me I still could not give an accurate report of how many committees on how many topics argued, hollered, reasoned wisely and blustered in Perugia from 17 to 21 July. Five or six, sometimes even more section meetings were going on at the same time. One of the most exciting among them (and unfortunately at times choking into ridiculousness) was the dialogue between East and West. After serious speakers weighed the chances of demilitarizing Europe, Polish Solidarity's emigre representative asked the Western peace movements for more financial support, and then an Italian demanded that the arrested demonstrators in Cosimo be freed; a French lady in question format, which nobody there could answer, missed the presence of the Czechoslovak delegates. (We also found out only afterwards that the Italian embassy in Prague was late issuing visas to those who were getting ready to go to Perugia.) Professor Davidov answered with a question to another questioner who was interrogating the Soviet delegation's members. Why does the person want him to identify with his friends, when he does not ask for the opposite: he does not want his own friends to be forced to do so.

And why has this nearly erupted in a scandal, why do I call the meeting nearly ridiculous? Because the elderly Italian lady who each noon was carrying hand-drawn posters on the street and kept hollering appeared here, too, in room No 1 of the Magistrato building. And at the conferences she unceasingly poured her curses on the French, the Polish, and always on those who stood against us. The organizers at first were just begging her to be quiet, then tried with gentle force to make her leave. But the lady was strong, small, massive, and had venerably snow-white hair. With her screaming she also interrupted the two Hungarians who spoke: Gyorgy Herczeg, representative of the State Youth Committee, and Presbyterian minister Zoltan Bona, even though she was not arguing with them but with the

unfortunate organizers. Who might she be? Finally I succeeded in solving the puzzle on the street. She was berating three Italian teenagers on beautiful Perugia's promenade, who just happened to be out for a walk there, as murderous Frenchmen, while she had a sign in her hand according to which "The Chinese Have Betrayed Socialism." I addressed her with courtesy, and she was just about to enter into a conversation with me "as one communist to another," but unfortunately for me, at the beginning of our private conversation I mentioned Berlinguer's name. In that instant her hatred flared up larger than when she was pouring out her curses at our opponents. "Io sono Stalinista!" --she screeched. "Evviva Stalin! And you"--she continued--"go with your Berlinguer and your Togliatti to..." And she told me where to go. (I do not speak Italian, thus I could only decipher the adjectives raining down on me from the tape recording.)

In a quiz-play we would say about this white-haired donna demonstrating by herself: she was not typical.

The Third END Convention was characterized by demonstrations of an entirely different type of troublemakers: unpeaceful young people. We were just gathering for the opening session when I spotted the first group. They had crepe paper pioneer's neckerchiefs in their hands, and rolled-up signs. We did not need a prophet's ability to guess that they would surely be demonstrating here, and presumably the supposedly unpartisan presidium also saw this clearly. And they did march up onto the stage half an hour after the start. The signs had on them insignias and slogans of KOR [Workers Defense Committee-Poland], Charter 77 and Dialogue. They tied the paper pioneer neckerchiefs in front of their mouths. Some of the people seated in the large hall, the spectator floor of Toreno theatre, applauded and hollered, while others were trying to hiss them off. The presidium was rather tolerant with them. They only asked the young people nicely not to stand between the presidium's table and the assembly. Later the END's better-known representatives publicly dissociated themselves from this "comedy", and when at the closing session a similar demonstration was organized there was no doubt: this childish behavior was painful to the hosts, as it threatened the convention's essence, better understanding, reasoning debate and serious dialogue.

So it continues!

At the closing plenary session a German language sign was stretched out between two boxes: "Wir haben die Erde nur von unseren Kinder geborgt!" (We have only borrowed the earth from our children!) I liked this slogan, no matter who wrote it, because I was often a "truant" peace activist, a musing stroller in the city, the streets, squares, enchanting houses and fountains which I have forever photographed with my eyes, together with the new buildings which fit in unparalleled harmony with the old ones. I was looking at Perugia's people, many of whom did not even notice the 1,300-strong army of visitors, since they were also kept busy by a jazz festival, puppet theater and their everyday work. I tried to decipher who believes in what, who thinks what. And how could the confusion generated by the io sono Stalinista lady and the rightwing provocateurs be ended?

The expression "thinking differently" gained its right to exist a few years ago in the West, as a synonym for disagreeing. If I look into myself, and if I just want to apply the concept to the increasingly friendly Hungarian team that coincidence brought together in Perugia, I am stunned: it fits well, since obviously the head of the 4-6-0 club looks differently at the world (the meaning of these numbers is that World War I lasted for 4 years, World War II for 6 years, and if the third one were to take place we could not measure it in years), and the knowledgeable professor has different taste in clothes or in art than I do. The one-time prime minister of Hungary and the sociologist represent other political shades, my friend at the radio looks at my disorganization and enthusiasm with criticism, my temporary roommate, the lady teacher, judges pacifism more severely, and I must be ridiculously ignorant in the eyes of the "disarmament expert" who is well versed in military questions and speaks excellent English, just as our opinions may differ from each other about everything and in every way in taste, behavior, knowledge, sexual morals or the views that we have formed about Hungarian education.

But if we talk about whether there should be unclear war or argument-filled peace, there is no disagreement and there is no room for any. There is no thinking differently here.

I am not religious. Yet I gladly agree with that saint from Assisi about whom Zeffirelli made a movie and whose prayer can be read there in the church named after him and on the holy pictures. What does the Sun-brother, Francesco, ask for? Peace, love, forgiveness, unity instead of dissent, faith, truth, hope instead of hopelessness, happiness, light instead of darkness, solace and agreement instead of discord.

Saint Francis also thought differently than the demonstrators.

8584  
CSO: 2500/526

GLEMP'S SECULAR ACTIVITIES REVIEWED

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 31, 29 Jul 84 p 15

[Article by j.n.: "Diary of a Primate"]

[Text] Year in year out, the official gazette of diocese curias publish bizarre and what today are unique chronicles of what bishops ordinary had done in the given dioceses. These chronicles are as a rule dry accounts of day-by-day activities. But from behind these lifeless records a picture of the really wide activities of Roman Catholic bishops emerges. This is best seen in the chronicle of the activities of the Warsaw-Gniezno Metropolitan who is also primate of Poland and chairman of the Episcopal Conference, Jozef Cardinal Glemp.

The recently published issue No 3-4 of the WIADOMOSCI ARCHIDIECEZJALNE WARSZAWSKIE devotes 27 pages to present Cardinal Glemp's activities day by day in 1983. The primate's mobility is really admirable. Apart from a dozen or so days last summer, when the Warsaw metropolitan was in the hospital and on convalescent leave, only 10 days are left out in the chronicle. Obviously then this documents the primate's actual interests and his commitment to their pursuit in practice.

Naturally, his daily timetable is dominated by religious activities, worship, sermons, various pastoral duties. What strikes a reader is the primate's close involvement in the pastoral care of university students, in contacts with artistic circles, his frequent meetings with representatives of the Odrodzenie group, with the Pastoral Care of Families organization, and with the Primate's Social Council.

He spends a great deal of his time, in discharging his official duties at episcopal sessions, attending proceedings of the episcopate's commissions, diocese curia sessions, consecrating new religious facilities, visiting church institutions, participating in various jubilee celebrations, parish feasts, or in various events of religious culture. The chronicle meticulously records even other, second-rate, facts, such as the 28 June confirmation of former catechumens at St. Martin's in Warsaw, the 12 July meeting of editors of Poland's Catholic press, the 4 August meeting with Mother Teresa of Calcutta on founding a home of the Missionaries of Love order, or the 1 November meeting with artists raising funds for the conservation of monuments at the Warsaw Powazki cemetery. But routine activities predominate.

This chronicle of activities at home includes records of the primate's trips abroad--to Vienna for the 300th anniversary celebrations of the victory of King John III Sobieski, to Rome for a synod, to fetch his cardinal's hat and for other reasons, to Hungary. There were six such trips, six of them to Italy alone.

Pope John Paul II's visit gave the primate an occasion to engage in various activities, ranging from that of 14 June ("Receives a delegation of confectioners from Poznan and Warsaw who brought pastry products specially made for the Holy Father") to that of 22 June ("Talks with Government officials, during the talk the Holy Father had with General Jaruzelski at Wawel Castle").

There are also more personal notes. After receiving his cardinal's hat, the primate visited (16 April) Inowroclaw. Under that date the chronicle says, "Reads mass at the Holy Cross Chruch and delivers homily to former colleagues and present students of the Jan Kasprowicz high school. At 10 am, visits fifth gallery in local salt mine. Upon arrival at high school, official welcome ceremony, walk around the school's old and new facilities. Meets with graduates from 33 years before and with representatives of teaching staff, the parents' committee, and with students. Dines at his friend, lawyer Kuczma's home. Returns to Warsaw."

Other notes seem to have a somewhat dramatic tone to them. On 23 April, the chronicler wrote, "Presides over [episcopal] council session at the Archbishop of Poznan's residence. Gets telephone call from Warsaw in connection with tense situation in the country. During dinner, meets with Cardinal Martini of Milan."

However, the chronicle shows that much of the primate's activity diverges widely from religious affairs and is clearly secular in character. This is what the chronicle records for 19 July through to 26 (in the following order): "Visits Orthodox church in Wojnow and ruins of an old catholic monastery which was taken over by a private owner. Meets with Hans [sic] Joseph Strauss and his wife at the Szeroki Bor forester's lodge. Visits Popielno animal-breeding farm run by the Polish Academy of Sciences. Reads mass and delivers homily at the Ruciane-Nida parish. Meets with two scout groups from Wroclaw who are on holiday in a camp in Bobrow at Lake Gardanskie. Consecrates scouts' ensigns. Attends concert of songs and poetry given by artists from Olsztyn."

The primate's nonreligious interests are even more visible in his contacts with politicians or persons connected with them. Apart from the abovementioned Hans [sic] Joseph Strauss, Cardinal Glemp received at his residence a sister of former U.S. President John F. Kennedy with her family. He also received in special audience the ambassadors of Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom, Austria, Belgium and West Germany, some of them several times. He received the president of the Spanish parliament, Jose Federico de Carvejal. He had several talks with General Jaruzelski and other state officials, but under 19 March you will also find the note, "Meets with Lech Walesa, later with a group of students." On 13 April, the primate "Meets with representatives of Jews who arrived in Poland to attend celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising."

The primate's other basically secular interests include facts such as, for example, these: "Meets with rectors of colleges at his residence" (8 February), "Meets with numerous representatives of the Ursus tractor factory" (10 February), "Meets with workers and engineers of the Warsaw Zeran car works" (5 April), "Visits the Pediatric Hospital in Litewska Street [in Warsaw] and meets with a group of doctors" (14 February), "Visits penitentiary for juvenile delinquents" (20 April), "Receives representatives of fire-brigade team from Rdzew (Mazury)" (24 September), "Visits Mikrus and Riviera students' hostels [in Warsaw] and meets with students" (10 December), "Meets with group of lay activists in drug abuse prevention" (12 December), again "Meets with group of rectors of Warsaw's colleges" (9 November), pays another visit to a Warsaw hospital, this time in Goszczyńskiego Street; "Is thanked by the hospital management for a gift of surgical equipment given to the hospital on the suggestion of the primate of Poland" (26 December). Also, he "Meets with group of church experts on agricultural aid to Poland" (14 December). I class this last meeting as a nonreligious one on account of its significance, not the character of the participants. But even some church activities can be recognized as directly connected with nonreligious matters, say when on 9 December the primate "Consecrates the Teresa Strzebosz Home for Single Mothers in Chylice." This event acquires special significance in view of the difficulties suffered by the Family Emergency Help Center (which has its church counterpart in the Teresa Strzebosz Home) which was created on the initiative of Professor Maria Lopatkowa and which the Education Ministry has written off as being of little use.

Cardinal Glemp is thus seen to be not only the helmsman of the Church in Poland but also a personage who intervenes in various domains of secular life. His interventions presumably take different forms and, to be sure, are often beneficial to secular life, especially whenever they are related to difficult human problems.

Let us refrain from pronouncing judgment, because the meager information on the primate's activities would not justify such a judgment. This chronicle is only a blurred snapshot, and not a revealing, clearly focused picture.

CSO: 2600/1130

NEW ORDER ON ASSIGNMENT OF WOMEN TO MILITARY SERVICE

Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish No 10, 24 Apr 84 pp 96-97

[Order by F. Siwicki, minister of the national defense: "Order of the Minister of the National Defense on the Assignment of Women to Military Service, 12 March 1984"]

[Text] Based on article 47, paragraph 6 of the law dated 21 November 1967 on nationwide obligation for the defense of the Polish People's Republic (DZIENNIK VSTAW No 7, 1984, item 31) the following is ordered:

Paragraph 1. Women are eligible for military service from the beginning of the year in which they turn 19 years of age until the end of the year in which they turn 36 years of age if:

1) they have the professional qualifications of middle-level medical personnel and are employed in the positions of:

- a) dietician,
- b) school hygienist,
- c) instructor of hygiene,
- d) instructor of exercise therapy,
- e) nurse or psychiatric nurse,
- f) midwife,
- g) medical analysis technician,
- h) dental technician,
- i) medical electronics technician
- j) electroradiologist,
- k) pharmaceutical technician,
- l) physical therapist;

2) they are doctors of medicine or dentistry, have master's degrees in pharmaceutics or medical analysis, and during the course of their studies were exempt from participating in military exercises;

3) they were acknowledged as physically fit for service.

Paragraph 2.1. Women described in point 1 of paragraph 1 are required to enlist if they are under 25 years of age in the calendar year in which they will be eligible for military service.

2. Women described in point 2 of paragraph 1 are required to enlist up to and including the 18th month after finishing studies.

3. After expiration of the time limits established in paragraphs 1 and 2, women designated in paragraph 1 are subject to a medical examination.

Paragraph 3.1. Women not required to enlist are those who:

1) care for children under 8 years of age;

2) care for children between the ages of 8 and 16 or for persons living with them who are invalids or are bedridden, if this care cannot be entrusted to anyone else;

3) have a regulated relation to military service.

2. The women described in points 1 and 2 of paragraph 1 are not required to undergo a medical examination.

Paragraph 4.1. Women required to enlist or undergo a medical examination and who were acknowledged as physically fit for military service (category 'A' groups 'A-1' and 'A-2') are assigned to the reserve.

2. Women designated in paragraph 1 are assigned to the reserve by the appropriate recruitment officer according to their permanent place of residence or temporary place of residence exceeding 2 months. These women are issued military booklets.

Paragraph 5.1. Women not eligible for military service are those who during recruitment or medical examination were acknowledged as:

1) fit for military service in category 'A' group 'A-3';

2) temporarily unfit for military service, category 'B'.

2. The recruitment officer issues an appropriate certificate to women designated in paragraph 1 and women acknowledged as permanently unfit for military service (category 'E').

3. Women acknowledged as temporarily unfit for military service (category 'B') may again be required to enlist or undergo a medical examination after the period of this unfitness expires.

Paragraph 6.1. Medical students who were required during studies to participate in military exercises may be eligible for military service.

2. The principles and procedure of assigning women to military service, which were established in paragraph 1, define individual regulations.

Paragraph 7. The order of the minister of the national defense on 22 May 1973 regarding the military service obligation of women has been superseded (MONITOR POLSKI No 23, item 139).

Paragraph 8. The order will go into effect on the day of its publication.

12421

CSO: 2600/1110

YUGOSLAVIA

RESULTS OF STUDY ON INTERNAL MIGRATION TRENDS TO 1981

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23-24 Jun 84 through 5 Jul 84

[Series of articles by Stane Stanic: "Who Are Our Migratory Birds"]

[23-24 Jun 84 p 6]

[Text] Recently in the pages of BORBA we attempted to discover by research (journalistic) "who among us are the migratory birds, where from and where to, and why are they migrating" (BORBA, 14, 16 and 17 May 1984). Since migrational movements or resettlement of citizens arouse great interest, one of the reasons being the political implications they often impose, we are continuing today and in several successive issues an examination of the published data and also raw data concerning our migrations in the years before World War II and after it, up to the 1981 Census.

In the first three articles, after examining closely the migrational flows of our "migratory birds," we were able to conclude that the regions of destination, when we compare them with the regions Yugoslavs are moving out of, are mainly economically less developed regions with a higher share of farm population, with a higher natural [original reads "economic"] population growth, with a higher population density and with lower opportunities for employment. [Sic]

Nevertheless, are these actually all the factors which stimulate migrational mobility?

Dr Ivica Konstantinovic and the economist Dragoljubka Cicovic of the Federal Bureau of Statistics put themselves a similar question in their study entitled "Influences of Economic and Social Welfare Factors on Migration of Population," published in the journal MIGRACIJE, which is published by the Center for Migration Research in Zagreb. The authors were familiar with the results of similar research in our country and abroad published in past decades and showing that "migrational movements of population are stronger under the social welfare and economic circumstances of contemporary industrial society, which is characterized by intensive economic development with large needs for manpower and which stimulates the geographic movement of the population in the direction of industrial centers and cities." But the authors were not satisfied with nothing more than that, nor with the rather well-known

observation that "as a rule migrations are stronger in economically more advanced countries than in countries with a more backward economy."

#### The Degree of Attractiveness

Out of a desire to see whether migrational movements are caused above all or exclusively by economic factors or certain other factors, they undertook a comparative analysis in 15 opstinas in Serbia proper: 5 opstinas (Kragujevac, Smederevo, Kraljevo, Bor and Sabac) with a sizable net immigration, 5 opstinas (Sjenica, Medvedja, Surdulica, Prokuplje and Ivanjica) with a sizable net emigration, while the other 5 opstinas (Bogatic, Leskovac, Svilajnac, Batocina and Cicevac) had a more or less balanced result. The researchers compared the level of national income, the share of farm population, the birth rate, employment, investments in the economy, natural population growth, the number of inhabitants per housing unit, investments in noneconomic activities, average age....

The comparisons showed "that there is a mutual dependence among all these measurements, which makes it possible to analyze their influence on migration." Since they unambiguously and unreservedly established that "the opstinas which had achieved a higher level of development were more attractive for immigration," that opstinas at a "middle" level of development were "neutral," that is, equally attractive to immigration as to emigration, while for the "underdeveloped or economically backward opstinas marked emigration was characteristic."

In the conclusions of this study they emphasized, once again unambiguously: "An analysis of the relations in migration and level of development show that migration in Serbia proper has depended predominantly on economic factors," that "a correlation was established between the level of development of the indicators examined and the ranking with respect to the net balance of migration."

Are these observations of Dr Ivica Konstantinovic and Dragoljubka Cicovic universally valid? Are they widely known? Probably not. One of our reasons for drawing this conclusion is the numerous reports about the emigration from Kosovo which has still not been halted, along with many statements attributing the reasons for moving out of that region exclusively to the Albanian irredenta. Aside from an understandable and justified condemnation of its baneful influences, there is usually no mention of other factors which might influence migration--(especially since members of other ethnic groups than the Serbs and Montenegrins are also moving, though, to be sure, in considerably smaller numbers)--factors concerning which--insofar as they exist--it would be equally beneficial to inform the general public.

The authors of a study mentioned lead us to that thought in their description of the purposes of their survey: "Familiarity with the factors in development," they noted, "and their mutual dependence creates a field for the activity of opstina authorities in order to eliminate the adverse or encourage the constructive trends both with respect to straightening out the actual conditions in the opstina and also with respect to the movement of their population."

## In the Light of Previous Research

This conclusion is allowed by a further reading of the study already mentioned by a group of authors and entitled "Demographic Movements and Characteristics of the Population of Yugoslavia With Respect to Nationality" (Center for Demographic Research of the Social Sciences Institute, Belgrade, 1978), especially in those minds which are also examining the influence of ethnic factors on migrational flows in Yugoslavia. Although the research deals with data from earlier censuses, they seem rather interesting and even instructive for today's purposes.

"Nationalities with a relatively high rate of geographic migration (autochthonous population between 50 and 56 percent)," as the authors of the survey observe, "are the Montenegrins, Slovenes and Czechs, while higher education is characteristic of the 'migratory birds' .... Croats, Macedonians, Serbs, Bulgars and Ruthenians displayed a moderate level of mobility (autochthonous population between 56 and 62 percent). The population of these nationalities is characterized by relatively high mobility over sizable distances. The process of urbanization has contributed considerably to the higher level of migration of those nationalities.... A lower level of geographic mobility was found, however, among the Italians and Hungarians; in the latter case this is even attributed to the type of settlement in Vojvodina.... Muslims (in the ethnic sense), Albanians, Romanians, Slovaks and Turks were found to have the lowest level of mobility (autochthonous population higher than 70 percent)...."

Did they tend to be less mobile because their native language was less widespread, because of a certain way of life and similarity of mentality of the members of their nationality, and so on? Instead of seeking such answer, which would require special studies, it is worth stating only that the authors of that survey expressed the opinion "that the ethnic factor has a considerable influence on migrations in our country." But certain migrational flows which we could not suppose to be strongly affected by the ethnic factor have in fact been stimulated by the effect of other factors. People of Croatian nationality have most frequently moved out of Bosnia-Hercegovina, for example, to Croatia, and those of the Serbian nationality to Serbia proper and to Vojvodina. But there have also been migrations of other kinds. In addition, certainly these migrations have also been furthered by the proximity of former or present places of settlement where Croats or Serbs lived more or less compactly on this or that side of the republic borders. In Vojvodina, on the other hand, a strong imprint was left by the organized resettlement immediately after World War II, which is undoubtedly encouraging the present immigration from the same regions, although greatly reduced.

The influx into Serbia proper, in the judgment of the same authors, has also been stimulated by the growth of development, with emigration from Kosovo, where the population density is highest, with Serbs and Montenegrins showing a strikingly higher mobility. That is, even within Kosovo itself they have migrated more than have the Albanians, the Turks and the Muslims.

Studies of other characteristics have shown that up until the 1971 Census the educational level of the population probably had a certain significance in migration over republic and provincial boundaries. But on the basis of everything we have said, it is certain that the ethnic factor cannot be excluded. For the present, of course, we might sum up this influence something like this: migratory birds usually tend to keep with their own flock.

[25 Jun 84 p 5]

[Text] If we begin with the largest "pool" of all migrants, in Bosnia-Hercegovina, we find that if we also take the last census into account, more than half of all the persons who moved out of this republic into Croatia (228,843) were Croats (130,135), fewer were Serbs (46,853), and then came Muslims, and so on. Of the former inhabitants of that same republic who moved to Serbia proper most were Serbs (82,646), and then came Muslims and others. Those who moved from Bosnia-Hercegovina to Vojvodina were also mostly Serbs (121,728), and the Croats were far behind them (7,833), and so on.

We can say, then, that the Serbs moved out of Bosnia-Hercegovina mainly to Serbia proper and Vojvodina, and to a lesser extent to Serbia. Let us also add to these the immigrants of that same nationality in Slovenia (11,368) where they are the largest group, ahead of the Muslims and the Croats (Table 1).

Table 1. Emigration From Bosnia-Hercegovina to Other Republics and Provinces up to 1981

Nationality	Monte-negro	Croatia	Mace-donia	Slo-venia	Serbia	Kosovo	Vojvo-dina
Total	9,480	228,843	4,896	33,530	111,828	5,015	145,010
Albanians	37	95	--	37	175	2,483	52
Montenegrins	3,853	602	--	75	2,276	152	596
Croats	410	130,135	--	4,456	2,973	64	7,833
Macedonians	24	164	--	58	410	29	163
Muslims	815	13,221	--	8,114	4,062	882	1,200
Slovenes	21	592	--	2,447	308	5	82
Serbs	1,988	46,853	--	11,368	82,646	1,168	121,728
Undeclared	2,128	32,928	--	6,238	17,161	104	733
Yugoslavs	1,444	29,010	--	3,108	14,845	52	707

Serbs were the most frequent (48,304) among those moving in the other direction into this republic, followed by Muslims (26,905) and Croats (24,515), and then Montenegrins, Albanians and Slovenes (1,468).

Similar ethnic components of migration are manifested elsewhere as well. In Montenegro, for example, (which, to be sure, is a notable area of migration) Montenegrins (19,876) were the most numerous among all immigrants (45,111). They mainly came from Serbia proper, Vojvodina, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Kosovo (4,809), whence there were also Serbian immigrants (733); but approximately 12-fold more immigrants of that same nationality (9,003) came to Montenegro from other parts of the country (Table 2).

Table 2. Emigration From Montenegro up to 1981

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Bosnia-Hercegovina</u>	<u>Croatia</u>	<u>Macedonia</u>	<u>Slovenia</u>	<u>Serbia Proper</u>	<u>Kosovo</u>	<u>Vojvodina</u>
Total	19,822	941	3,678	2,211	42,365	13,021	14,587
Albanians	93	47	--	21	71	3,285	24
Montenegrins	5,471	2,590	--	1,172	22,070	4,203	11,721
Croats	495	3,192	--	85	356	8	140
Macedonians	19	62	--	17	192	4	45
Muslims	7,754	328	--	198	4,154	4,849	101
Slovenes	33	136	--	379	80	2	19
Serbs	3,354	936	--	123	11,395	449	1,706
Undeclared	2,443	1,945	--	193	5,391	113	690
Yugoslavs	2,355	1,872	--	172	5,084	107	662

\* Data still not available.

It is certainly more significant to examine migrations from that republic. The largest number of people, as is well known, went to Serbia proper (42,755), the largest group among them being the Montenegrins (22,070), followed by Serbs, Muslims and others. Among immigrants in Bosnia-Hercegovina from Montenegro Muslims were the largest group, followed by Montenegrins and then Serbs. The largest group among immigrants into Croatia from Montenegro was Croats (3,192), one-third of all the immigrants from that republic. The data are still not available for Macedonia, while half of the immigrants in Slovenia from that same republic were Montenegrins (2,211).

The largest group among those moving from Montenegro to Kosovo were the Muslims (4,849). They were followed by the Montenegrins (4,203), and only then come the Albanians (3,285), and then the Serbs (449). The Montenegrins were also the largest group (11,721) among those moving to Vojvodina, followed by the Serbs (1,706), and so on.

[26 Jun 84 p 5]

[Text] The largest group moving to Kosovo was Albanians (19,630), among whom the largest group came from Serbia proper (9,134), and then came the Albanians immigrating from Macedonia (3,472), Montenegro (3,825) and Bosnia-Hercegovina (2,483). The second largest group among the immigrants was the Serbs (13,383), most of whom came from Serbia proper (9,572--more, then, than the Albanian immigrants), followed by Muslims (7,759), among whom the largest group came from Montenegro (4,849). Yet the largest group among the Montenegrin immigrants (6,101) came from Montenegro and Serbia proper.

#### Where They Are Going

Given all the well-known serious political consequences, migrations out of Kosovo were by far the most important: as has been stated, the largest number went to Serbia proper (110,675). The most numerous among them were the

Serbs (79,032), and quite far behind them come the Montenegrins (10,724), and then Albanians (6,987).

The largest group migrating from Kosovo to Montenegro were the Montenegrins (4,809), just a few hundred more than the Montenegrins moving from Montenegro to Kosovo, and they were followed by Albanians (895), Muslims and Serbs.

The largest group moving into Vojvodina from Kosovo was the Serbs (6,314), followed quite a way behind by Montenegrins (1,207) and then Albanians (1,025).

The largest group in the total number of immigrants in Bosnia-Hercegovina from Kosovo (5,690) was the Muslims (1,745), followed by the Albanians (1,281), and so on.

A quite notable number of Serbs moved out of Kosovo into Croatia (10,105), more than two-thirds of all the "Kosovo" immigrants (14,704) in that republic.

In Slovenia, where proportionately few people immigrated from Kosovo (2,577) there were slightly more Serbs (883) than Albanians (812). In the case of Macedonia, however, we still do not have the figures on the nationality of immigrants (Table 3).

Table 3. Kosovo's Immigrants and Emigrants up to 1981

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Bosnia-Hercegovina</u>	<u>Montenegro</u>	<u>Croatia</u>	<u>Macedonia</u>	<u>Slovenia</u>	<u>Serbia Proper</u>	<u>Vojvodina</u>
<b>Total</b>							
Immigrants	5,015	13,021	2,094	5,600	474	22,668	1,645
Emigrants	5,090	8,261	8,258	21,245	2,577	110,675	10,268
<b>Albanians</b>							
Immigrants	2,483	3,285	638	3,472	173	9,134	445
Emigrants	1,281	898	2,159	...	812	6,587	1,025
<b>Montenegrins</b>							
Immigrants	152	4,203	111	121	29	1,305	180
Emigrants	253	4,809	232	...	147	10,724	1,207
<b>Croats</b>							
Immigrants	64	8	357	43	7	86	41
Emigrants	205	53	2,700	...	89	526	180
<b>Macedonians</b>							
Immigrants	29	11	11	565	3	67	7
Emigrants	23	17	54	...	18	434	46
<b>Muslims</b>							
Immigrants	882	4,849	83	295	23	1,523	104
Emigrants	1,745	775	562	...	75	4,153	42
<b>Slovenes</b>							
Immigrants	5	2	9	11	78	37	12
Emigrants	6	6	33	...	259	136	387

Table 3 (continued)

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Bosnia-Hercegovina</u>	<u>Montenegro</u>	<u>Croatia</u>	<u>Macedonia</u>	<u>Slovenia</u>	<u>Serbia Proper</u>	<u>Vojvodina</u>
Serbs							
Immigrants	1,168	449	740	687	135	9,572	662
Emigrants	985	733	1,020	...	883	79,032	6,314
Undeclared							
Immigrants	104	113	69	48	13	272	51
Emigrants	743	484	1,060	...	158	5,391	733
Yugoslavs alone							
Immigrants	52	107	61	45	12	248	46
Emigrants	698	452	988	...	131	5,084	707

(In all the tables we have published or will be publishing figures are missing on the migrants whose ethnic declaration was "unknown.")

An examination of migration with respect to periods of time offers yet another dimension of migration--immigration and emigration. Even though the figures on migrations are based solely on declarations concerning only one move--in a person's life before the 1981 Census--so that many people who migrated had died, so that they were not counted at all, the figures gathered offer a very graphic insight into how migrations have taken place through various periods of time.

#### The Time Dimension

If we go back to Kosovo for a moment, we get the following picture:

"There are a few hundred fewer Montenegrins (4,203) who declared that they moved to Kosovo (where they are now permanently settled) from their native republic before the 1981 Census than those who said that they moved from Kosovo to Montenegro (4,809). Most of the Montenegrins who moved to Kosovo (one-fourth and more--1,113) made the move before 1940, that is, probably when they were fairly young. Another fourth (1,097) of the Montenegrin immigrants living today made the move in the first 15 years after the war. There were somewhat fewer of them (880) in the decade that followed, while the immigration of Montenegrins after 1970 was off appreciably (540).

What is significant about the Muslims, who are the largest group of immigrants in Kosovo from Montenegro (4,849), is something the researchers remarked during the previous censuses: their low mobility. In the prewar years, as well as in the years during the war, there seems to have been no immigration, and even in the period after the war up to 1960 few moved (1,218). The "boom" of Muslims immigrating from Montenegro began in the decade before the seventies; in the last decade, and this is true of the second half, a rather small decline was recorded.

The mobility of Albanians (3,285) was similar to the rate of immigration of Muslims from Montenegro to Kosovo: in the prewar period and during the war this migration was minimal, it was proportionately small (603) up to 1960, and then was larger and larger up until 1970 (870), and greatest in the decade before the 1981 Census (1,232), but still we are struck by the smaller influx in the second half of that period.

[27 Jun 84 p 5]

[Text] The largest group among immigrants from Serbia proper into Kosovo was Serbs (9,572). Slightly more than one-eighth (1,367) made the move before the war, but in the 16 years that followed the war they outnumbered the Muslims and Albanians together (2,589); during the last two decades, though, there were twice as many in virtually the same "installments" (2,304 and 2,554).

Albanians are the second largest group having moved from Serbia proper to Kosovo (9,314); very few made the move in that direction before and during the war. Indeed, even during the first decade after the war, from then until 1960, comparatively few made the move (1,225). In the next decade, up to 1970, however, immigration all but doubled. In the first 5 years of the seventies the pace picked up again (2,090), and it speeded up once more in the second half of that decade (2,516).

The third largest group in immigrants to Kosovo from Serbia proper is Muslims (1,523), whose migrational trend is similar to that of the Albanians.

Montenegrins (1,305) who moved from that same region made the move rather uniformly over the period since the war.

Most numerous among the Albanians who have moved to Kosovo are those who came from Macedonia (3,472), among whom a growth trend was noted especially after 1960, and they were followed with immigrants from Bosnia-Hercegovina (2,483), whence immigration fell off somewhat, however, in the seventies. Far fewer Albanians, of course, moved in from Croatia, Vojvodina and Slovenia. As far as numbers go, other migrations of interest are the Serbs (1,168) and Muslims (882) coming from Bosnia-Hercegovina, who by and large displayed the same "waves" over time as the other immigrants of that ethnic group into Kosovo.

#### Without a Trace

Although in our survey we have not been concerned with migrations from abroad, in connection with Kosovo it was necessary to examine these figures as well, mainly because of the frequent oral passing on of various figures and the resulting rather widespread belief that a "massive immigration of Albanians, especially during and indeed even after World War II," contributed to the "change in the ethnic situation in Kosovo."

We looked for traces of the immigrants--but in the census data, aside from the forementioned 19,630 Albanians who moved into Kosovo from various parts of Yugoslavia, we found only another 2,409 who moved in from abroad. One-sixth of these (409) made the move before the war, and of those who made the

move during the war there are now 365 alive. The influx up to 1960 was comparatively small (404), and there was a particular drop in the period up to 1970 (150). Over the last decade, however, an increase was noted (671).

To be brief: if there were any migrations during the war, as are rather persistently being mentioned, they have left no trace on the basis of which we might be able to frame a conclusion about any sort of influences on the later demographic developments in Kosovo.

Pressures, and so on

The migration from Kosovo to Montenegro is directly related to the demographic developments in Kosovo and the political problems that came about before and especially after 1971. As we have already mentioned, the largest group among the immigrants was the Montenegrins (4,809). Immigration was comparatively small before the war (111) and in the interbellum years (324). Immigration became more common in the period up to 1960 (752), but over the last two decades the trend in migration has been still faster (1,549 and 1,927). Of course, the pressures which have been condemned might be an explanation for this.

It is interesting, however, to follow the immigration of Montenegrins into their native republic from other parts of the country: the largest number has come from Serbia proper (5,664), and that at approximately the same pace as from Kosovo, and in the last 5 years before the 1981 Census, even in a larger number (1,337:869). The same applies to the Montenegrins immigrating from Bosnia-Hercegovina (3,853), Vojvodina (3,189) and Croatia (1,544).

As we have already mentioned, Serbs have also immigrated into Montenegro. The rate of immigration of Serbs from Bosnia-Hercegovina (1,988), from Serbia proper (4,239) and Vojvodina (1,088) is identical--it has been rising steadily, and that also applies to the immigration of Muslims (most of them from Serbia proper--1,923); they are followed by those from Bosnia-Hercegovina (815) and then from Kosovo (775) and Croatia (1,478).

[28 Jun 84 p 5]

[Text] Whereas Bosnia-Hercegovina holds the "record" with respect to emigration, moving out, (a net loss of 397,270), Serbia is first with respect to the net number of immigrants--plus 377,546, most of them in Serbia proper, which has a net gain of 291,965. How much influence has the ethnic component had in these migrations? (Table 4)

The figures show the following: the largest group moving into that region was from Montenegro (22,070); 806 before the war and 902 during the war. After the war the influx grew steadily. It is true that in the period before 1960 there were comparatively fewer (569) than in the decade ending in 1970 (6,364), and then that was followed by a still greater pressure in the decade up to 1981 (8,285), in which still more frequent moves were noted in the latter half of the decade (4,548).

Table 4. Immigrants in Serbia Proper up to 1981

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Bosnia-Hercegovina</u>	<u>Montenegro</u>	<u>Croatia</u>	<u>Macedonia</u>	<u>Slovenia</u>	<u>Kosovo</u>	<u>Vojvodina</u>
Total	114,828	42,755	110,704	50,011	12,988	110,675	144,075
Albanians	175	21	75	2,558	25	6,587	141
Montenegrins	2,276	22,070	1,910	1,275	456	10,724	4,349
Croats	2,973	356	14,234	384	345	526	2,884
Macedonians	410	192	564	16,484	128	434	1,231
Muslims	4,062	4,154	222	1,176	48	4,153	314
Slovenes	308	80	692	151	3,312	136	436
Serbs	82,646	11,395	70,948	20,399	5,857	79,032	107,893
Undeclared	17,161	4,010	19,191	5,554	2,250	5,391	18,145
Yugoslavs alone	14,845	3,909	18,628	5,451	2,215	5,084	17,516

#### The Pace of Immigration

While we are discussing Montenegrins who have moved into Serbia proper, those who moved from Kosovo are the second largest group (10,724). They moved at the same pace in the postwar period up to 1960 (1,541), and then in greater numbers in the period ending with the 1971 Census (3,225), and there was a particular increase later in the period ending in 1981 (5,280), during which a somewhat greater influx was again noted in the latter half of the seventies (2,829). Montenegrins moving into Serbia proper from other places were less important: from Macedonia (1,275), from Bosnia-Hercegovina (2,276) and from Vojvodina (4,369).

The largest group of Serbs moved in from Vojvodina (107,983), followed by Serbs moving in from Bosnia-Hercegovina (82,646), and then from Kosovo (79,032) and from Croatia (70,948). Fewer Serbs moved in from Macedonia (20,399) and from Montenegro (11,395), and least of all from Slovenia (5,857). In all, then, neither more nor less than 378,170 immigrant Serbs!

What was the pace of the immigration? In the prewar and interbellum years the largest numbers immigrated from Vojvodina, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia. In the first postwar period under consideration (1964 to 1960) the largest group of immigrants came from Vojvodina (32,893), from Croatia (21,727) and from Bosnia-Hercegovina. The number moving into Serbia proper from the latter republic in later periods increased (about 25,000 per decade), while the influx from Croatia dropped off in the sixties (19,042), and still more in the seventies (15,222), showing a tendency toward a further decline, as is also the case of the influx from Vojvodina (31,507 in the sixties and 26,277 in the seventies).

While the influx of Serbs from Macedonia is mainly balanced and that from Slovenia in decline, the augmented influx from Kosovo is well known: before and during the war this influx was not especially great (2,801 all told). Later they increased--before 1960 comparatively few Serbs moved out (11,828),

in the decade ending with the 1971 Census there were already twice as many (25,039), and there was the greatest number in the last decade (37,671), more than half of them in the latter half of the seventies (20,915), that is, an annual average of about 4,224.

The immigration of Serbs (and Montenegrins) from Kosovo, it is quite certain, could indicate pressures or even increased pressures, especially in the recent past. Nevertheless, further research is suggested by the fact that over that same period considerably more Serbs immigrated from Vojvodina, approximately the same number from Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as by the trend of immigration from Montenegro and Croatia, and to some extent even from Macedonia. In short, it would probably be worthwhile to study not only the causes and motivation bringing 79,032 Serbs into Serbia proper from Kosovo, but also the reasons why the other 299,138 moved into the same region from other parts of Yugoslavia.

#### Causes and Motives

While we are discussing the immigrant's "eldorado," which, judging by the figures, is Serbia proper, there are certain other immigrations worth mentioning: the largest group in the category "others" immigrating was Croats (21,702), most of them coming from Croatia (14,234), and then come Macedonians (19,443), most of them from Macedonia (16,484), with an increased influx in recent years, and then come Muslims (14,129) in "contingents" of slightly more than 4,000 from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro and Croatia, all of them showing the same tendencies of a steady growth, and Albanians (9,632), most of whom came from Kosovo (6,587) and Macedonia (2,558), who are also immigrating in ever greater numbers. Hungarians and Slovenes (5,115) are less important with respect to the number of immigrants.

[29 Jun 84 p 5]

[Text] Few Croats (20,226) moved into Vojvodina from other parts of the country, most of them coming from Croatia (10,052); there were still fewer Montenegrins (16,556), a majority of them from the native republic, while members of other nationalities and ethnic minorities immigrated there in still smaller numbers--except for Serbs. They immigrated in the largest numbers from Bosnia-Hercegovina (121,728), from Serbia proper (101,899), from Croatia (49,688) and from Kosovo (6,314).

If we add to all these immigrating Serbs those who moved in from other parts of the country, the number we arrive at is 285,258! It is true, however, that the pace of immigration has been declining since the period of "unscheduled trains," especially during the last decade, and that also applies to the immigrating Croats (Table 5).

What is the ethnic composition of immigrants into Croatia? The figures confirm the assumption that even in this case Yugoslavs have mainly been immigrating toward their own flock: that is, the largest group is the immigrating Croats (175,654), among whom Croats from Bosnia-Hercegovina are predominant (130,135), whence they emigrated at an average of about 4,000 a year

during the last two full decades up to 1981, with a slight declining tendency; but immigration before 1960 was smaller. Second place with respect to the number of immigrants is held by the Serbs (77,451), most of them also coming from Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is also the point of origin of the largest group of ethnically undeclared or "Yugoslavs" (Table 6).

Table 5. Immigrants Into Vojvodina From the Other Republics and Kosovo up to 1981

<u>Nationality</u>	Bosnia-Hercegovina	Montenegro	Croatia	Macedonia	Slovenia	Serbia	Kosovo
Total	145,610	13,587	73,779	13,315	3,560	132,200	10,268
Albanians	52	24	39	776	10	236	1,025
Montenegrins	596	11,721	367	167	97	2,401	1,207
Croats	7,833	140	10,052	126	156	1,739	180
Macedonians	163	45	174	7,451	41	636	46
Muslims	1,200	101	74	157	15	468	42
Slovenes	82	19	187	26	768	306	387
Serbs	121,728	1,706	49,688	3,230	1,693	101,899	6,314
Undeclared	10,372	690	8,953	1,013	484	9,302	733
Yugoslavs alone	9,711	662	8,708	984	474	9,074	707

Table 6

<u>Nationality</u>	Bosnia-Hercegovina	Montenegro	Macedonia	Slovenia	Serbia	Kosovo	Vojvodina
Total	228,843	9,416	8,866	33,176	40,673	8,256	39,483
Albanians	95	47	1,429	50	106	2,159	37
Montenegrins	602	2,590	88	235	554	232	396
Croats	130,135	3,192	1,891	10,775	12,257	2,700	14,704
Macedonians	174	62	2,530	99	237	54	111
Muslims	13,221	328	203	185	422	562	97
Slovenes	592	136	98	14,501	628	33	244
Serbs	46,853	936	780	2,132	15,525	1,020	10,105
Undeclared	32,928	1,945	1,519	4,491	9,764	1,060	6,081
Yugoslavs alone	29,010	1,872	1,443	4,257	9,375	988	5,697

They are followed in numerical strength by the immigrating Slovenes, and then the Muslims, most of whom came from Bosnia-Hercegovina, with a notable increase from census to census.

Our tables, which show for Croatia large population shifts over republic and provincial borders, do not, however, show migrations within Croatia, which are manifested in the large exodus from the Adriatic islands, for example, as well as from other regions, and also in the departures abroad, which certainly ought to be a topic for more comprehensive research (and that also applies to other parts of the country).

[30 Jun-1 Jul 84 p 4]

[Text] Since there is no statistical material on migrations into Macedonia, it is a good idea to conclude our survey of immigration and emigration by examining migrations from other republics and provinces into Slovenia:

The largest group of immigrants came from Croatia (48,745), the largest group of them being Croats (29,515), with an ever higher pace of immigration (6,765 before 1960, 8,587 in the decade up to 1970, and 12,238 in the decade up to 1980). In second place among immigrants from Croatia are Slovenes (12,374) with a more or less moderate pace of immigration, and in third place are Yugoslavs (2,671) with a rising rate of immigration, and that also applies to the Serbs immigrating from Croatia (2,468).

The second "wave" comes from Bosnia-Hercegovina (33,530). In first place among them are the Serbs (11,368), more than half of them have immigrated in the decade before the last census, and a major portion (4,964) came even in the last 5 years. In second place among immigrants from that republic are Muslims (8,114), almost half of whom immigrated during the last 5 years before the census, and they are followed by Croats (4,456), two-fifths of whom made the move in the last 5 years. Then come individuals who declared themselves to be Yugoslavs (3,108), whose rate of immigration has been identical (see the table).

#### Immigrants Into Slovenia

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Bosnia-Hercegovina</u>	<u>Montenegro</u>	<u>Croatia</u>	<u>Macedonia</u>	<u>Serbia</u>	<u>Kosovo</u>	<u>Vojvodina</u>
Total	33,530	2,211	48,745	3,118	16,236	2,577	5,495
Albanians	37	21	57	346	36	2	812
Montenegrins	75	1,172	129	27	177	147	93
Croats	4,456	85	29,515	68	482	89	432
Macedonians	58	17	90	1,620	73	18	42
Muslims	8,114	198	166	39	111	75	26
Slovenes	2,447	379	12,374	556	4,599	259	1,569
Serbs	11,368	123	2,468	169	9,090	883	2,019
Undeclared	6,238	193	3,049	206	1,374	644	158
Yugoslavs alone	3,108	172	2,671	184	1,281	579	139

#### Migrations of Those Not Declaring a Nationality

Immigrants from Serbia proper are numerically in third place (16,236). The largest group among them was Serbs (9,090), followed by Slovenes, and so on. The next sizable group of immigrants is from Vojvodina (5,495), among whom the largest group is the Serbs (2,019), and there are still fewer immigrants from Macedonia (2,392) and from Kosovo (2,393), among whom there are an equal number of Serbs (883) and Albanians (812), and both of them mainly, more than two-thirds, made the move in the last 10 years, when in general a larger migration was observed from that part of the country. The fewest immigrants

came from Montenegro (2,211), half of whom were Montenegrins. At the same time a fair number of Slovenians--22,183 in all--were found to be returning "to their own flock" from various parts of Yugoslavia.

#### Why Particular Attention

Particular attention should also be paid to migrations over republic and provincial borders of those of our citizens who have not declared their nationality or who have declared themselves to be Yugoslavs. As is well known, the possibility of declaring one's self to be a Yugoslav was first introduced in the 1961 Census. At that time 317,124 people so declaring themselves were recorded, 87 percent of whom were in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The specialists then noted in comparing the figures with those of the previous census that the number of Muslims had dropped--probably for that reason.

In the 1971 Census, however, the number of individuals declaring themselves to be Yugoslavs dropped to 273,077, including a drop to one-fifth of the number of those so declaring themselves in Bosnia-Hercegovina, while there was an increase in the ethnically mixed regions of Croatia, Serbia proper and Vojvodina. The 1981 Census, however, brought a sizable jump: almost a million more inhabitants (1,219,024) declared themselves to be Yugoslavs than 10 years earlier. The largest share in the total number was in SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia (36.2 percent) and Croatia (31.1), followed by Bosnia-Hercegovina (26.8), Serbia proper (22.3), Vojvodina (13.7), while the proportions in Montenegro (2.5), Slovenia (2.2), Macedonia (1.2) and Kosovo (0.2) were considerably smaller.

But how were these declarations made by the "migrants" across republic and provincial borders?

#### Migrations of the Ethnically Undeclared

<u>Republic or Autonomous Republic</u>	<u>Ethnically Undeclared</u>	<u>Yugoslavs Alone</u>
Bosnia-Hercegovina	25,443	24,514
Montenegro	6,448	5,692
Croatia	57,788	52,642
Macedonia	Data not yet available	
Slovenia	11,862	8,126
SR Serbia	103,919	98,538
Serbia proper	71,702	67,648
Kosovo	670	570
Vojvodina	31,547	30,320

In the 1981 Census one out of every 20 inhabitants declared himself to be a Yugoslav (5.4 percent). Croatia and Vojvodina (8.2 percent) and Bosnia-Hercegovina (7.9 percent) were above that average, and Montenegro (5.3), Serbia proper (4.8), Slovenia (1.4), Macedonia (0.7) and Kosovo (0.2 percent) were below it.

Certainly, one of the especially interesting observations is that there are proportionally a great many ethnically undeclared people among the "migrants," and among them a high number declaring themselves to be Yugoslavs. Among the immigrants Yugoslavs are most common where the number of immigrants is greatest--in Bosnia-Hercegovina (17.3 percent of all immigrants), in Croatia (14.3), and then come Montenegro (12.6), Serbia proper (11.6), and then Slovenia and Vojvodina (7.3 percent each).

The share of "migratory birds" in the total number of persons declaring themselves to be Yugoslavs also speaks rather suggestively about the growing number of Yugoslavs (except Bosnia-Hercegovina): beginning with Croatia (13.9 percent), and then come Montenegro (18.2 percent), and Vojvodina (18.3 percent), while in Kosovo, though the numbers are relatively small, they represent more than one-fifth (21.3 percent). Yet the highest proportion of "migrants" among Yugoslavs is in Serbia proper, where they represent about one-fourth (24.9 percent), and in Slovenia where they represent almost one-third (30.9), though the number involved is comparatively small.

There would seem to be no need for comment as to all the things which these numbers and proportions could signify.

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[Text] Before we attempt to bring this survey to a close, it would be suitable if we also explained how the data which we have been attempting to analyze were gathered. Since no population register is kept in our country (except in Slovenia, Belgrade, Zagreb, Osijek and certain other cities) from which one might monitor the mobility of the population in an accurate and up-to-date way and thus discover migratory mobility, we had available to us only the material gathered during the censuses, especially the last one--in 1981.

Approximately Accurate

One of the questions the censustakers sought answers for at that time was this:

"If an individual has moved to his place of permanent residence, where did he move from?" Yet the datum on when the move was made was obtained in answer to another question.

A great fault of answers sought and obtained in this way was, as it was explained to us by Dragoljubka Cicovic of the Federal Bureau of Statistics, that this approach took into account only one move. Only the last move was recorded for individuals who made several moves. Nor was consideration given to all those moves which were the consequences of the war, in cases when the subjects of the census returned to their original place of residence. Nor were moves recorded which were motivated by departures to another place to work or to go to school when there was no change in the place of personal residence, regardless of the length of the absence.

In short, data gathered in that way do not afford the possibility of representing the scale of the entire migratory transfer. Moreover, all the data do not include those persons who made one or more moves during their lives but who died before the 1981 Census. Only the "final status of migrations at the moment of the population census" could, then, be established.

In spite of the defectiveness, the results obtained nevertheless do afford at least an approximate insight into migrations: to be sure, the census subjects gave only their "last" move, still, since possible earlier immigrations were followed by emigrations, the "final" balance portrays the situation approximately the way it actually is.

The table captioned "Migration of Population Among the Socialist Republics and Socialist Autonomous Provinces" was prepared in the Federal Bureau of Statistics on the basis of the data gathered; the table pertains to individuals who moved (at least once) before the 1981 Census across the present republic or provincial borders (Table 8).

Table 8. Migration of Population Between Republics and Provinces

<u>Indicator</u>	<u>SR Bosnia- Hercegovina</u>	<u>SR Mon- tenegro</u>	<u>SR Croatia</u>	<u>SR Ma- cedonia</u>	<u>SR Slo- venia</u>
Number involved in migration	679,934	150,601	660,545	165,653	169,475
Immigrating from another SR or SAP	141,332	45,111	368,735	77,248	111,950
Emigrating to other SR's or SAP's	538,490	105,490	291,810	88,405	57,570
Net result of migration	-397,270	-60,379	76,925	-11,157	54,335
Unknown immigration	13,181	1,221	24,779	5,315	6,348

<u>Indicator</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>SR Serbia</u>		
		<u>Serbia Proper</u>	<u>SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province]</u>	<u>SAP Vojvodina</u>
Number involved in migration	1,694,462	874,107	217,489	602,866
Immigrating from another SR or SAP	1,016,004	583,036	50,517	382,451
Emigrating to other SR's or SAP's	678,458	291,071	166,972	220,415
Net result of migration	337,546	291,965	116,455	162,036
Unknown immigration	43,984	30,066	2,136	11,782

(Author of the table: Dragoljubka Cicovic, Federal Bureau of Statistics.)

Summing up the Observations

There is almost no need for specific comment at the end of our survey of migrations. The data obtained in the last census confirm the conclusions which demographers and other scientists based on analyses of the previous censuses:

Yugoslav migrations, just like migrations all over the world, have been stimulated above all by economic factors. The migrational flows as a rule run from the less developed and more densely populated areas into those which are more advanced. The directions of certain flows of these migrations have become, so to speak, traditional.

A specific feature of Yugoslav migrations, it is quite certain, is the influence of the ethnic factor. Preliminary research, as has already been mentioned, has shown that the influence of the ethnic factor on the degree of mobility of members of certain ethnic groups within the regions which they inhabit as well as over "longer distances" should not be excluded; there is evidence of this in the figures on the higher or lower proportion of the "autochthonous population" in a particular area and especially in the figures on their other sociodemographic features such as schooling, occupation, and so on.

Although we still do not have all the necessary data we would need for an "in-depth" analysis that would take into account the data on occupation, education and other characteristics of the migrants, still there is probably no great risk in the overall assumption that the figures of the 1981 Census show a certain continuity with the previous migratory movements.

The basic observation that the "migratory birds" prefer "to settle with their own flocks" also stands, if not still more emphatically: perhaps this is a long-term and rather definite process which has not yet been (sufficiently) researched and which will at some point be given its full interpretation and perhaps even name as well. We also note the higher mobility of Muslims and Albanians than in previous periods, as well as the more numerous immigrations of members of our various nationalities and ethnic minorities to the more advanced parts of the country, and indeed elsewhere as well, especially to the major cities and tourist centers all over Yugoslavia. Certain changes can also be spotted on the basis of figures on immigration into Vojvodina, where large groups, mostly Serbs, came from certain less developed regions (except from Kosovo, where at that time there was more immigration) following World War II. That influx is now slowly decreasing.

[3 Jul 84 p 5]

[Text] Kosovo certainly remains a chapter to itself. The third anniversary of March 1981, except for two incidents which were unable to provoke anything or anyone, could not, of course, pass without renewed protests because of the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins. There were still the assessments of the 11th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee held in December 1983, when there was discussion of implementation of the political platform for the action of the LCY in development of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity in Kosovo which had been adopted 17 November 1981. It was emphasized at that meeting that "the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins under pressure is one of the greatest political and sociopolitical problems in Kosovo, in SR Serbia and in the entire country."

## Removing the Causes

"The League of Communists and all the subjective forces," it goes on, "must comprehensively and with greater resolve elucidate and remove the causes of these phenomena."

The migrations of Serbs and Montenegrins, if we sum up the census data, have in relative terms been greatest during the last 5 years before 1981, and that especially in the direction of Serbia proper, where about 4,183 Serbs and 866 Montenegrins have moved in an average year. Over that same period, however, a sizable number of Serbs have moved into that region on the basis of uninvestigated motives from other parts of the country (for example, in an average year over that same period 909 Montenegrins and 2,575 Serbs immigrated from Montenegro, and so on). Yet there is still good reason to heed the warnings that the number of people emigrating from Kosovo over the last decade has remained constant or has even increased, although the absolute number of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo has been dropping. The 1981 Census recorded 18,763 fewer Serbs and 4,527 fewer Montenegrins than in 1971; in any case, here is a survey of the figures from census to census:

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>1948</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1981</u>
Albanians	498,242	524,559	646,605	916,167	1,226,736
Montenegrins	28,050	31,343	37,588	31,555	27,028
Serbs	171,911	189,869	227,016	229,261	209,498

## The Successfulness of Opposition

The most recent figures indicate that the political action has borne fruit: the number of emigrants in 1983 was considerably smaller than a year previously. Whereas in 1982 817 families with 2,630 members moved out, last year only 425 families with 1,944 members moved out. In 1982 4,286 individuals moved out, while the figure in 1983 was 2,897.

The composition of the emigrants, which has been published by the Bureau of Statistics for the period June-December 1983, is especially interesting:

In the group of 4,562 emigrants 46.3 percent were Serbs, 24.2 percent Albanians, 8.6 percent Montenegrins, 6.6 percent Gypsies, 5.5 percent Muslims and 1.1 percent Turks.

The breakdown of the 1,242 immigrants into Kosovo over that same period was Albanians 47.5 percent, Serbs 26.0 percent, Montenegrins 8.6 percent, Turks 4.4 percent, and so on.

Which is why, as JEDINSTVO of Pristina writes, the task still remains on the part of all the progressive forces to combat any sort of physical pressure and attack on people and property and at the same time to attempt to remove all forms of psychological pressures.

"While there may have been rude outbursts which call for criminal prosecution, the reference is to pressures which are in fact rather subtle, psychological, pressures which arise, for example, from the fact that because of the emigration and especially because of the higher birth rate of certain nationalities, the share of others in the total population has been dropping. (Whereas in 1971 Serbs represented 18.4 percent of the Kosovo population, Montenegrins 2.5 percent and Albanians 73.7 percent, in the last census, in 1981, the Serbs represented 13.2 percent, the Montenegrins 1.7 percent and the Albanians 77.4 percent.) Research on migrations done at the Croatian Institute for Social Research of Zagreb University has at the same time revealed--as has always been the case, that the migrants are particularly young people between the ages of 15 and 35."

That is why the migratory tendencies, in view of the political implications, truly ought not to be stimulated still more in any way, including the publication of two-column advertisements in that same JEDINSTVO offering potential migrants land and houses in Smederevo, Natalinci, Ripanj, Bolec, Jugovo, Obrenovac, Simanovci, Baric....

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[Text] Another indication of the delicacy of the question of migration is afforded by the figures indicating that Kosovo is not the only region where there are changes, that is, shifts in the ethnic composition of the population. Whenever such changes are discussed, one thinks first of migrations. But it would take extensive studies to accurately weigh the extent to which they might have been decisive and in what examples.

This is imposed as a prerequisite on the basis of the figures of the postwar censuses of the various republics and provinces which had the highest emigration and the highest immigration and also because of various fluctuations in the number, for example, of Muslims, and then of Yugoslavs, of Turks and of other citizens, which occurred because of differing approaches taken in the different censuses along with other causes.

In any case, let us see what the figures show. (See the table entitled "Changes in Ethnic Composition of the Population.")

Changes in Ethnic Composition, in percentage

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>1948</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1981</u>
<b>Bosnia-Hercegovina</b>					
Croats	24.0	23.0	21.7	20.6	18.4
Muslims	30.8	31.4	25.7	39.6	39.5
Serbs	44.3	44.4	42.9	37.2	32.0
Yugoslavs	--	--	8.4	1.2	7.9
<b>Montenegro</b>					
Montenegrins	90.7	86.7	81.4	67.1	68.5
Croats	1.8	2.4	2.3	1.7	1.2
Muslims	0.1	1.5	6.5	13.3	13.4

Table (continued)

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>1948</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1981</u>
Serbs	1.8	3.3	3.0	7.5	3.3
Albanians	5.2	5.6	5.5	6.7	6.5
Yugoslavs	--	--	0.4	2.1	5.3
<b>Croatia</b>					
Croats	79.2	79.6	80.3	79.4	75.1
Serbs	14.5	15.0	15.0	14.2	11.5
Yugoslavs	--	--	0.4	1.9	8.2
<b>Macedonia</b>					
Macedonians	68.5	66.0	67.2	69.3	67.0
Serbs	2.6	2.7	3.1	2.8	2.3
Muslims	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	2.1
Gypsies	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.5	2.3
Albanians	12.1	12.4	13.0	17.0	19.8
Yugoslavs	--	--	0.1	0.2	0.7
<b>Slovenia</b>					
Slovenes	97.0	96.5	95.6	94.0	90.5
Croats	1.2	1.3	2.0	2.5	2.9
Serbs	0.5	0.8	0.9	1.2	2.2
Muslims	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.7
Yugoslavs	--	--	0.2	0.4	1.4
<b>Serbia proper</b>					
Serbs	92.1	91.7	92.6	89.5	85.4
Montenegrins	0.4	0.5	0.7	1.1	1.4
Muslims	0.2	1.5	1.7	2.4	2.7
Albanians	0.8	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.7
Yugoslavs	--	--	0.2	1.4	4.8
<b>Kosovo</b>					
Montenegrins	3.9	3.9	3.9	2.5	1.7
Muslims	1.3	0.8	0.8	2.1	3.7
Serbs	23.6	23.5	23.6	18.4	13.2
Albanians	68.5	64.9	67.2	73.7	77.4
Gypsies	1.5	1.5	0.3	1.2	2.2
Yugoslavs	--	--	--	--	0.2
<b>Vojvodina</b>					
Montenegrins	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.9	2.1
Croats	8.1	7.5	7.8	7.1	5.4
Serbs	50.6	51.1	54.9	55.8	54.4
Hungarians	25.8	25.4	23.9	21.7	18.9
Romanians	3.6	3.3	3.1	2.7	1.0
Slovakia	4.3	4.3	4.0	3.7	3.4
Yugoslavs	--	--	0.5	0.1	8.2

Whereas there is a smaller share of Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina from census to census, a drop in the proportion of Serbs occurs only after the 1971 Census, when there was an increase in the number of Muslims in the ethnic sense. The number of Muslims fluctuated before that census, which in 1961 was reflected in the number of "ethnically undeclared Yugoslavs." But the smaller

proportion of Croats and Serbs in the last census could have been influenced by the increase in the number of persons declaring themselves to be Yugoslavs.

The share of Montenegrins in the total population of Montenegro dropped almost 22 percent between 1948 (90.7) and 1981 (68.5). The proportion of Serbs and Croats increased and has been decreasing, and there has been a notable increase in the share of Muslims, Yugoslavs, and even Albanians to a somewhat lesser extent.

In Croatia there has been a noticeable drop in the proportion of Croats and also Serbs, but at the same time there was an increase in the share of persons declaring themselves to be Yugoslavs. There was a simultaneous decline of the proportion of members of certain other ethnic groups--Italians, Hungarians, and so on.

The share of Macedonians in the total population of that republic is rather constant, but with a slight decline, which by and large is also true of the Serbs. The largest growth has been noted among the Albanians, which is perhaps because of the decline in the number of Turks, while the growth in the share of Gypsies has been smaller, but constant, and the share of Muslims has varied.

In Slovenia the share of Slovenes has dropped 7 percent since 1948. There has been an increase in the share of Croats and Serbs, a slightly smaller growth in the share of Muslims, while the growth of Yugoslavs has been quite pronounced.

In Serbia proper we note quite small fluctuations in the number of Serbs before the 1971 Census and then a decline. Over the same period there was an increase in the proportion of Montenegrins, Muslims, Albanians, and especially those citizens who declared themselves to be Yugoslavs.

A steady growth in the proportion of Serbs as well as Yugoslavs and Montenegrins is characteristic of Vojvodina. A decline in proportion in the total population is noted concerning all other ethnic groupings.

Yet Kosovo, as we have already mentioned, is characterized by an equal share of the Serbs in the censuses before 1971, when a decline was noted, and that in approximately the same amount as the increase in the share of Albanians and Muslims. A further decline was recorded in the 1981 Census, while at the same time there was an increase in the share of other ethnic groups in the province.

Comparisons of the data confirm that these are rather constant trends which probably will not die out so very soon. It is likely, however, that in future there will no longer be "surprising" leaps such as were recorded in the past, when there were more of "some," and then fewer of "others"--because of reasons which have not been (sufficiently) researched or are not (sufficiently) familiar. In the time before the Brioni Plenum, for example, there was a fluctuation in the number of persons declaring themselves in the census to be Gypsies, Turks or Albanians, possibly even because of various feelings

of "opportunism," since in certain periods it was "better to be" a member of now this nationality and then again some other nationality, or indeed of some third or fourth. In a particular period, then, it was possible to note a sudden increase in the number of Turks, and that by several hundred thousand, and the reason for this lay in the possibility of permanent emigration to Turkey.

Dr Ruza Petrovic speaks about such things in her essay "Statistical Definition of the Ethnos, the Nationality and the Nation" (GLEDISTA, Nos 1-2, 1983), which among other things makes the case that the differing statistical and social treatment of Muslims strongly influenced their declaration and their growth. "The Muslims were treated as a religious grouping in the 1948 Census, as ethnically undeclared in 1953, as an ethnic group in 1961, and since 1971 they have been treated like all other groups of Yugoslav origin."

Ruza Petrovic goes on to warn that a large portion of persons declaring themselves to be Turks in the earlier censuses gave Albanian, Serbian or Macedonian as their native language. At the same time she notes that very few people stated their ethnic origin to be Wallachian, though 10-fold more persons gave Wallachian as their mother tongue.

The same author notes that the subjectivity of the declarations, which may be influenced by social conditions (for example, between 1948 and 1961) in the cases of the Wallachians and Gypsies, or indeed international conditions, which, in her opinion, is manifested, say, in the fluctuation in the number of Jews. Yet her discussion is particularly interesting concerning the increase in the number of persons declaring themselves to be Yugoslavs, observing in this connection that this kind of declaration is above all typical of a social attitude, that is, is much more a social commitment than something inborn, as indicated by declarations on ethnic background at the time of marriage, birth and even more, death.

It is not excluded, of course, that there might even have been direct or indirect pressures exerted by the censustakers during the census (though such cases still would have been found out sooner or later) either because of a certain sense of fear that this or some other ethnic declaration might cause consequences, for example, with respect to obtaining employment, children's education, and so on.

It is still more likely, however, that at times what was involved from time to time was the greater or lesser awareness of the ethnic origin of citizens of the various nationalities, since it was only in the Yugoslavia of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia that gradually and over the years it became possible to become firmly established. Aside from that, clearly, forgeries were also possible in all the censuses equally. Slovenes, for example, as well as all others who live in ethnically mixed regions (in Trieste or Koruska) have similar experiences in this respect dating back to the time of the Hapsburgs, depending on the specific circumstances and the more or less directly pronounced assimilation tendencies of the "majority" ethnic group.

[5 Jul 84 p 5]

[Text] The high degree of sovereignty of the nationalities and the autonomy of the ethnic minorities which was brought out by the new constitution has put a stop to zigzagging of this kind and has probably been strengthening the orientation toward definitive ethnic declaration. The accuracy of these hypotheses would, of course, be subject to very precise research. When it comes to things which are against the constitution, when it is a question of coercion which constitutes a crime, everything needs to be done to put a stop to such things and to prevent their recurrence in the future. Quite a few resolutions have been uttered in this connection--clearly and vigorously--and, as the figures already mentioned on the drop in the number of emigrants from Kosovo and on the first returnees indicate, they are also bearing their first fruit.

Firmly resolved to use political, self-management and other measures to stop every individual case of forcible emigration from Kosovo, we still confront the dilemma of how to halt all other migration of the population. (Let us think, for example, of the depopulation of the Adriatic islands and of numerous poor hilly and other opstinas.) Is something like that at all possible and worthwhile? In any case, after all that has been said, it seems that we need to plow much deeper.

The years of the stabilization which are ahead of us will perhaps be one of the influences which will slow down migrations because of the diminished needs of the more economically advanced regions. Overpopulation might then become an incentive for seeking self-management solutions which have already been suggested for the population to make out where it now lives and where it could return after a year of "visiting" abroad or in other parts of the country.

What is needed at this point is accurate data on migrations. Such data are needed, for example, to plan future development and among other things because of the strong motivational charge which emigrants usually bring with them, especially young people. Such data are needed still more in the difficult political struggle, which obviously still lies ahead.

Aside from the possible pressure, finally, various errors in the way the data have been gathered on migrations up to now are also possible. Dr Dusan Breznik, director of the Center for Demographic Research of the Social Sciences Institute in Belgrade, warns, for example, that because of the differing methodologies from census to census "hundreds of thousands of inhabitants may even have been lost. On one occasion about 4 million migrants in the United States were 'lost because of methodological differences.'"

Introduction of a population register, as already exists in Slovenia, Belgrade, Zagreb and certain other cities, could help greatly in the present difficulties. The opinions of certain specialists that introduction of a uniform population register would require about 2,000 new staff positions, appear rather exaggerated to the "well-informed." Indeed, on the contrary: the present preparations of the bill on introduction of the uniform population

register in the SFRY indicate that the entire information system concerning all movements of population could not only be raised to a higher level without particular efforts, but numerous improvements could also be made that would add to efficiency and effectiveness.

In the Federal Bureau of Statistics, where the bill is already being prepared, they feel that introduction of a uniform registration number of the individual and the purchase of the appropriate mechanical data processing equipment would provide all the conditions for obtaining the appropriate personnel and organizational approaches. But since a certain time will nevertheless have to pass before the law is adopted, it would be worthwhile in the present stabilization period to do everything to furnish up-to-date records on migrations which from now on ought to be kept at the local level.

It would be necessary from those beginnings to seek ways of "channeling" the gathering of data and compiling the Yugoslav "mosaic" so that in time we would have exact ideas about who our "migratory birds" are, where they have come from and where all those Yugoslavs of ours are going within Yugoslavia.

Only then will we be able to find completely reliable answers about why migrations occur as a phenomenon in Yugoslavia.

[Box]

#### Waiting for New Inspirations

On the eve of the World Population Conference, which will be held in August in Mexico, it is worth recalling how the previous conference, held 10 years ago (19-30 August 1974) in Bucharest, with the very active participation of the Yugoslav delegation, concerned itself with the problems of internal and international migrations. A World Plan of Action was adopted at that time; it was supposed to serve governments all over the world "as an instrument of policy in the framework of broader strategies adopted at the international level for national and international progress and for improvement of development and the quality of life."

The document recommends in the chapter entitled "Population Distribution and Internal Migration" that "an integral approach to more rational population distribution, which ought to be achieved through planned development and more uniform regional development, especially by advancement of those regions which are in a less favorable position or are underdeveloped compared to the rest of the country." It also recommends efforts to develop the network of small and medium-sized towns so as to reduce the pressure on the large cities. Intensive programs for economic and social improvement ought to expand the social services, measures to protect the environment and to preserve and improve agricultural resources in rural areas through balanced agricultural development, thereby increasing the income of the farm population.

Recommending that governments and international organizations facilitate voluntary international movement of population, the same plan of action called attention to the serious consequences of the "brain drain." Yet this

need not flow solely from the underdeveloped to the advanced countries, but may also flow from the less advanced to the more advanced regions within individual countries. That same parallel can be drawn concerning the developing countries affected by the high emigration of skilled workers and specialists, which were recommended "extensive planning of education, manpower and investments in scientific and technical programs so as to better coordinate skills to employment opportunities, to increase the motivation of these personnel to contribute to the progress of their own countries, and also to encourage the return of those who have left. Along with all that, an inflow of skilled workers, specialists and experts from the more advanced countries to the less developed is also recommended, and note was taken of the need to formulate an international policy which would prevent the brain drain."

The world plan of action recommended to countries facing the problems of migration that they also "study the experiences of countries which have large programs for internal migration so as to work out guidelines for similar programs," "that they forecast demographic and similar changes," and that they "formulate, implement and evaluate population policy, and so on."

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YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENIAN WRITER EXPRESSES HARD LINE TOWARD INTELLECTUALS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21-22 Jul 84 p 11

[Interview with Slovenian writer Jozef Javorek by Radmila Dubljevic and Vojislav Vignjevic in series "The Party and the Intellectual": "Who Is Frightening the Intellectuals?"; date and place not specified]

[Text] It is a melancholy truth that political forums have for a long time now been blind to everything happening in culture in general, but quite particularly in Slovenian culture. Certainly this is above all opportunism of the most ordinary (or even rotten) kind, since they wish to create the impression of true democracy through their well-meaningness and all-embracing magnanimity. But with their blind policy ever since 1957 they have been supporting a quiet and clever demoralization of the moral forces of our revolution, says writer Jozef Javorek.

However, it is not merely a question of opportunism. One of the important causes of why leading communists, especially the principal policymakers in culture and artists who are party members, are unable to deal with the right, which year after year is becoming not only more eloquent, but also more arrogant and aggressive, lies in their excessive preoccupation with everyday cultural policy or policy in general. While party members are working, their adversaries are studying, broadening their horizons, writing books, receiving literary prizes and taking up an ever more prestigious place in Slovenian culture. "Let me give a classic example: Edvard Kocbek has since 1952 been receiving the high attention of the vice chairman of the Presidium of SR [Socialist Republic] Slovenia (and when it seemed to him that it should be increased, he immediately called upon Josip Vidmar to intervene, and Josip Vidmar always did what he asked). He has had 24 hours a day to concern himself with destroying what at one time he helped to build. He was a marked example of the 'internal dissenter' who calculated that it did not pay for him to go out into the cold and ungrateful world, 'but that the homeland would never forget him.'"

And further: the Slovenian Community for Culture, which furnishes financial support to all Slovenian cultural activities (which means all the journals and magazines and publications of whatever sort), as far as I know, has never yet opposed giving aid to writing which is contrary to everything that the young generations of Slovenian cultural workers once dreamed about.

Thus it is an accepted myth with us that in culture a thing can be worth something only if it has come about on the margin of society or even in conflict with it. The only interesting pieces are those which are "problematical," which should anger the "authorities." We have found taboo topics, we have found a number of interesting provocations (from nationalistic to ideological). Above all there has been a spread of a literature beholden to no one which is sufficient solely unto itself, which, for all the motives and possibilities of the most diversified life which Slovenians have ever lived, is an expression of some declining and above all uncreative turn of mind.

Yet we must not forget that Slovenia is the only republic in Yugoslavia whose people are to be found in no less than four countries. First, it has two solid and successful centers of culture in Trieste (Italy) and Klagenfurt (Austria). The people living and active in those centers are, of course, not at all inclined toward what revolutionary Ljubljana is dreaming about. Slovenian political forums are unable to influence their activity, since these are events in other countries, but since Slovenian cultural space is a single whole, they have to be taken into account. We have to admit that Trieste and Klagenfurt in many respects exert a very constructive influence on Ljubljana, but at the same time they, of course, serve those who want to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by being outside for the most diverse attacks upon Yugoslavia. Thus Edvard Kocbek, for example, in essence has spent the latter part of his life operating through Trieste and his political and ideological "advocate" Boris Pahorje; thus, for example, Taras Kermauner published his most insane articles in the bilingual journal MOST, which is published, of course, in Trieste, and so on.

#### The Historical Blame

And thus we confront a miserable truth: in Ljubljana, in the Slovenian Community for Culture, in the Marxist Center, in cultural bodies and agencies associated with the Slovenian LC Central Committee and SAWP, in the Presern Fund, and in all the publishing houses there are rightwing elements or at least their quiet sympathizers conducting Slovenia's entire cultural policy. Since the right is intellectually stronger, artistically more lively, organizationally more astute, and above all endowed with genius in the petty games of politics, it is pulling by the nose not only the Slovenian LC Central Committee, but all of Slovenia.

[Question] It would seem that there are differing traffic capacities for certain ideas in different communities. What is the reason for that?

[Answer] This is a well-thought-out strategy. Several decades ago Dusan Pirjavec and Taras Kermauner found that in certain other republics they could not assess certain articles or actions with the same judiciousness as in Slovenia, since they were not familiar with the Slovenian situation. That is why those two used mainly Belgrade (and for a time Novi Sad) as places from which to "demolish" Slovenian cultural policy or even to spread their own ideas in its name. Individuals have also been using the same tactics with journals located abroad (ZALIV, MOST), but nevertheless much less frequently, and mainly under a pseudonym.

Incidentally, one wonders why we had to fall so far as to seek "differing traffic capacities for certain ideas"?

I am convinced that we are dealing with the historical blame of the entire Yugoslav intelligentsia. Since 1948 we have become the hope of the world, and above all the hope of all the progressive socialist forces in the world. As is well known, a good literature has never developed within the framework of socialist movements. Romain Rolland and Anatole France were socialists above all in their sentiments, Barbusse, to be sure, did count for something, but nevertheless not so much as to have had a decisive influence on the direction of European literature. The surrealists were unable to find a true and effective role in the socialist movement.... But after the war the mindless limitation of socialist realism prevented the unique spiritual flowering which could have embraced Europe, since almost all the intellectuals of that time were brought together in certain of the European communist parties. An exceptional literature did develop in our country (M. Krleza, O. Davico, M. Lalic, M. Kranjec, C. Kosmac ... to mention just a few names ...), but I am utterly unable to understand why we still did not manage to establish our literature either in the country or in the world in the spirit of anti-Stalinism and the pluralistic esthetic ideas which the LCY of all the parties was the first to adopt in its program.

I think that we let a historical opportunity slip by.

[Question] Where in your opinion is the upper limit of tolerance for ideas which are outside the system of socialist values? Certain programs of Radio Student or articles in NOVA REVIIA are often mentioned in that context. Are the reactions always correct to the contents of all the media? We assume that there are also other examples....

[Answer] The upper limits of tolerance have been set down in the constitution and the Criminal Code--and nowhere else. Incidentally, we are a free society in which creativity does not have limits. It is every man's duty to broaden and deepen our freedom.

Every society has, of course, had people who did not agree with it and who did not violate the Criminal Code. Their activity has at times been conscious and at times altogether unconscious. In Yugoslavia we have known many people who consciously violated the constitution and Criminal Code, but today there are more and more who are doing this unconsciously. The circumstances are such that in and of themselves they evoke dissatisfaction, criticism and overstepping of the upper limits of tolerance of the ideas of socialist values. We live in extremely difficult times which can demoralize many people, so that those in a demoralized state do things they would not otherwise do. Many are offered every opportunity to point their finger at our society and ask: What have you done with the dreams of all those who fought for socialism and even gave their lives for it? Where have you led us? Why have you been unable to govern? Why have you allowed the demon of the standard of living to delude you instead of first teaching people the right work habits and changing and raising the people's level of civilization? You have been taken in by a trick, and that mainly with the help of immense loans....

The right is taking advantage of this tragic situation (just like the right in France takes advantage of every mistake by the Mitterand left). It would, of course, be almost extraordinary if it did not do so. In Slovenia the right emerged in a framework of socialist society somewhere around 1957. At that time its oppositions were embarrassed and almost those of puberty. However, the magazine PERSPEKTIVE already gathered around itself a stronger group which attempted to organize and, in the words of Taras Kermauner--was ready to grapple with the existing authority in physical terms. That same company, which in the meantime has attracted quite a few young people, is now entrenched around NOVA REVIJA. NOVA REVIJA's principal task is to gather around itself an army of grumblers and cavilers, to mobilize in Slovenia everything that can be harmful to today's society, to strike it a blow in one way or another.

#### A Pronounced Tartuffe

All the magazines in Slovenia have had a sociopolitical background consisting of certain sociopolitical activity with the magazine out in front. DOM IN SVET, for example, was such a magazine. It conducted a markedly Catholic esthetic policy and through it significantly influenced the formation of Slovenian culture. In the opposite camp were LJUBLJANSKI ZVON and SODOBNOST, which gathered around themselves the progressive Slovenian intelligentsia and prepared for the conflict with fascism and for liberation of the homeland. That was also the role of DEJANJE, which by differentiating Slovenian Christians created favorable conditions for rallying the Christian-socialist forces for the fight against fascism.

No one can or dares to pretend not to know that even NOVA REVIJA has its sociopolitical background and its sociopolitical goals. To be sure, it has never presented them clearly (in that it differs from the other magazines), but whenever it has begun to speak about its aim, it has turned toward mere sophisms. One should be aware that its collaborators include a large number of people each of whom is a pronounced homo duplex, and above all a marked Tartuffe. And the content will be a reflection of the people: elusive, suspect, politically perverse, perfidious, and for anyone who knows well the Slovenian cultural situation, as clear as day. The intention of NOVA REVIJA is to demoralize the Slovenian revolutionary community to the extreme, and then.... We shall see. In any case it is not difficult to predict that sooner or later a conflict will come about between revolutionary Slovenian society and NOVA REVIJA.

Incidentally, everything else which exceeds the limit of tolerance of socialist ideas does not have the significance of the muffled and demonic, and only rarely open speech of NOVA REVIJA.

[Question] To what extent has the church had its finger in the pie concerning the split in the Slovenian intelligentsia?

[Answer] By establishing ties with the occupier against its people, the church lost all its moral power (as well as financial strength). It went off into the catacombs. It should be acknowledged that in the catacombs it has

undergone considerable change. It is now showing the face of a tolerant community and is mainly not meddling in politics. But most probably many followers of the Roman Catholic Church are happy about our difficulties and conflicts. And to some extent that is understandable: its rule in Slovenia, which lasted hundreds of years, has left its traces. This was demonstrated even in the interview with the theologian Konciliija which Taras Kermauner and Peter Vodopivec published in NOVA REVIJA; in it there was a reference to some sort of rehabilitation of the "bloody bishop" Dr Gregorij Rozman, who had ties with the occupiers and distinguished himself by his atrocities. Since Kermauner, Vodopivec and Konciliija passed every bound of human reason, the role of the "bloody bishop" was again revealed in the polemics which followed, and that was a real shock for the younger generations. We see from this example that certain priests are attempting to use the difficult times in which we live and are giving vent to their revanchism and nostalgia for times long passed.

Nevertheless, it seems to me that the metropolitan of the Slovenian church, Dr Alojzij Sustar, who went abroad for his theological studies back in 1940 (and consequently had no connections with the fascist savagery of the Slovenian church in the years 1941-1945) is an extremely tolerant person who probably restrains his theologians whenever they attempt to run wild. He returned to Ljubljana only a few years ago, having lived previous to that as a cosmopolite all over Europe (he was among other things the secretary of the European Conference of Bishops). I think that he has understood the true role of the Slovenian church today, and that is: to correct--insofar as is possible--the bloody role which it had in the time of the National Liberation Struggle. That is why this phenomenon is extremely interesting in the Slovenian church today: believers are supposed to be industrious, through their work they are supposed to show that in the economic crisis of the moment they will not leave the present-day society holding the bag, but will help it with all their strength to overcome the difficulties and to resolve the crisis.

#### Against Kid Gloves

[Question] You give the impression of being personally dissatisfied with the conduct of cultural policy in Slovenia. Not long ago you objected to certain literary concessions....

[Answer] Among the leading cultural politicians, for example, the conviction prevails that polemics should not be conducted *ad hominem*, but *ad rem*. They have caused a great hullabaloo over any "labeling" whatsoever. Their intention is to castrate polemical literature altogether. Had they had their way, Aristophanes would not have dared to bring Socrates onto the stage and to make immortal fun of him, Dante would not have fought his adversaries by name in his "Divine Comedy," nor would Voltaire, much less Miroslav Krleza ... to mention only some of the outstanding polemical spirits of European history. Slovenian cultural policy favors refined treatment in kid gloves, even when the fiercest enemies are involved; it is in favor of Oriental bowing before everything that it feels is directed against it, and, of course, it is for letting things pass as the supreme tactical stroke of its "policy." That is, they are afraid that someone will write them down as "Stalinists," that "they

have no idea about democracy," that they "have a strong arm" or whatever else can be picked up from the abundant arsenal which the right always possesses and uses on every occasion. (In Slovenian polemical literature the right was the first to introduce the swear word "informer," if you have told the truth about what they are writing or doing. The very expression is markedly military or at least statist, so that we can say that it was hatched out of their totalitarian mindset.)

That the representatives of our cultural policy are afraid of NOVA REVIJA and all those who stand behind it is best shown by the game which the representatives of NOVA REVIJA have played with Franc Sali, executive secretary of the Slovenian LC Central Committee (responsible for culture). Firing shells at him countless times from various sides (at the same time extolling him), they finally outwitted him and attained their goals. He made an essential contribution to the founding of NOVA REVIJA. Then the following observation was made in their ranks: "The only party member who will go to heaven is Franc Sali, since the Holy Writ says: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit: for their's is the Kingdom of Heaven!'"

Nor was it much different with other Slovenian cultural politicians. It is typical of them that they have been in a constant fear of the coefficient of the intelligentsia of rightwingers and still more of their demonic game. Nowhere is there a stalwart man (character) before whom the rightwingers would stop and bow down. The Marxist Center of the Slovenian LC Central Committee is indeed an assemblage of learned men, but without any offensive attitude at all or at least without any critical presence. All of them together are revolving in some sort of galaxies of theory and are playing some games which we cannot term otherwise than "blindman's buff."

In such a situation a man who sets his mind to achieving something whether it is in accord with the spirit of our revolution or not can do absolutely anything if he has at least a grain of courage and cleverness. Tone Pavcek, former president of the Slovenian Writers' Society and editor-in-chief of the Cankar Publishing House, for example, is such a man. He deserves the credit for publication of a number of books utterly out of tune with our society, he deserves the credit for the Slovenian Writers' Society giving moral support to the publication of NOVA REVIJA, which Pavcek, as founder and publisher, accepted into the Cankar Publishing House, and he deserves the credit for Vitomil Zupan (together with him) having received the greatest Slovenian literary recognition, the Presern Prize (cleverly used to disguise his own political saboteurism). Yet Pavcek is still an altogether charming person, an exceptional organizer, good natured and cordial, and so on.

#### The Sheep and the Shepherds

[Question] What sort of relations prevail in your opinion in the Slovenian Writers' Society?

[Answer] Even before I demonstratively withdrew from the Society, I had not participated in its life for a number of years, since I was too weak to be able to bring about its reorientation. Since I have no sort of public

ambitions whatsoever, I was never a member of any committee of the Society, and that was the only way within the Society to light a new flame and instil new strength into it. The Slovenian Writers' Society is a flock of sheep with which its shepherds do as they will. The worst members of that Society are the members of the League of Communists who do not have enough character to rebel, but merely vegetate on the tail of the Society's events like pitiable yesmen or excessively melancholy Don Quixotes. If only there were at least a few Sancho Pansa's among them! But they do not have even that! For a long time the Slovenian Writers' Society has been led by some other party which does not have a red booklet, does not pay dues, does not meet in organized meetings of cells, but rather in impromptu meetings either in the cafe of the Hotel Elephant or in the editorial offices of publishing houses or in private apartments. That is how decisions are made about everything: What the Society is to do, where it will commit itself, what it will encourage and what it will inhibit. And they leave the garnishing (the meetings of the Society with readings, commemorations, and so on) to the leadership.

[Question] What are the issues which Slovenian intellectuals must unfailingly debate? In other words, what are the issues that cannot be put off, especially in the ideological sphere?

[Answer] The matter is quite simple: we have to go back to the traditions of the national liberation struggle, we have to go back to the inspiration of our revolution, which exceeded the limits of Yugoslavia and encouraged several significant movements in the world. We have to go back to those aspirations in literature and culture which would give to these autochthonous revolutionary currents an artistic image and thereby would become to some extent a literary and in general artistic vanguard in the world. However, we must certainly abandon the petit bourgeois cafe mentality which is attacking us from all sides as though we had been attacked by grasshoppers and we gave in to them almost without a struggle.

In Slovenia we have the Plenum of Cultural Workers of the Liberation Front, that is, an organization which began to operate in the fall of 1941 and which in the years of the war performed several historic deeds. These plenums, which with rare exceptions embraced all cultural workers in Slovenia, existed even after the war.... And they are still meeting. It has long been my opinion that the plenums of the Liberation Front ought to be the vehicles of revolutionary policy in Slovenian culture. Organizationally they ought to be turned into a kind of intellectual (cultural) parliament which would embrace all Slovenian cultural workers in the four countries in which they live. The plenum, of course, must not be only a gathering of war veterans, but ought to operate in the framework of the SAWP, wherefrom it would draw young people and new political forces.

If the Plenum of Cultural Workers of the Liberation Front is "revived," if it confronts the ineluctable truth without flinching, if it begins to act without compromise and without fear of any sort of accusations, and especially without fear of accusations from our increasingly petit bourgeois press, then it would be possible to speak of those essential changes in Slovenian culture (which the right fears most of all).

The Lone Ranger

[Question] It cannot be said of you that you are among the intellectuals who keep silent. Why do many do so?

[Answer] I was born in the region where Primoz Trubar, Fran Levstik and Josip Stritar were born. Aside from all else, these men were distinguished by their polemical attitude. Trubar fought against the papists and liars of all kinds, Levstik against the Old Slavs and their reactionary spirit, while Stritar with his "Vienna Sonnets" created one of the summits of the Slovenian polemical poem. If there is at least some accuracy in Taine's theory of the importance of the environment in which a man has grown up, then from my very young days I imbibed the combativeness of my native region and its representatives. In statistical terms I have so far written more Slovenian polemical books than anything else (eight in number). But probably I am a very poor polemicist or at least a very weak spirit, since with my polemics I have not budged the basic relationships in Slovenian culture, nor have I helped it to turn where I think it would attain its originality and perfection. I have always been only a "voice crying in the wilderness."

One of the reasons for the ineffectiveness of my writings certainly lies in the fact that I do not have around me a group of friends or acquaintances who would support me in my efforts. Meanwhile all our opponents are organized and supportive of one another (with praise, criticism, organized activity and above all moral support). But I am truly a lone ranger.

You ask me why others do not open their mouths and speak? Josip Vidmar has so far continued to open his mouth and speak when it was necessary. The young philosophers have begun to emerge (A. Kirn, Seserko, and so on) who I hope will not be beaten down at the very outset of their polemical "career." A majority of the party intelligentsia, however, are simply choking on their own opportunism, which is only one of the forms of speculation.... The fear which leads to opportunism is a fear of charges of Zhdanovism or Stalinism. People who are spokesmen of light, joy, humanistic perspectives, international brotherhood and a new civilization have complexes when they face ordinary babblers, monomaniacs, circus performers, and quasi-cultural exhibitionists who mainly pluck their ideas from the foreign press or from someone else's head. They frighten us with various "scandals" and Goli Otok and the "Dachau trials," and they have never been able to evaluate the unhappy pages of our history together with the circumstances from which they arose. Nor do they care for the human pain of all those who were once the victims of the errors of our society, all they care for is making political use of these unhappy facts, in which they do not differ by a hair from our White Guardists abroad.

And because of this complicated situation many intellectuals prefer to keep silent than to say the word that would help to change our cultural history for the better.

7045  
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YUGOSLAVIA

EDITOR OF ROMANIAN MILITARY JOURNAL CITES MORE OPEN REPORTING

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 84 pp 65-66

[Article by Miroslav Lazanski: "The Romanians Do It This Way"]

[Text] Filled with short articles, many photos and drawing, APARAREA PATRIEI may be the first prototype of a military journal of the year 2000.

Comrade Olaru Radu is a colonel. A journalist. Editor-in chief of military periodicals MUNCA POLITICA and APARAREA PATREI. He received us in his office on Strada Izvor Street. The editorial staff comprises about 30 people, and all except one Romanian Army officers. A soldier is permanently on guard at the entrance to the editorial offices, with a gun and a bayonet. Inside one finds the usual rush as in all the newspaper offices in the world. MUNCA POLITICA and APARAREA PATRIEI are internal editions of the Romanian Army and are not sold at newsstands. The former is a monthly magazine, the latter a weekly. They did not want to tell us anything precise about the circulation. A part of each printing is distributed free to soldiers and officers, the rest goes to subscribers. It is hard to conclude whether the circulation is such a secret (can one estimate the number of officers or the troops on the basis of the number of copies?), but privately we have learned that it is about 70,000 copies, at least as far as APARAREA PATRIEI is concerned. But this is not so important.

The Romanian military attache in Yugoslavia, Colonel Dumitru Manea, Colonel Jean Vajianu, and military-political columnist for these papers, Lieutenant Colonel Vasile Iosipescu were present at our talk with the editor-in-chief, Colonel Plaru Radu.

From the point of view of traditional journalism, APARAREA PATRIEI could be regarded as a second-rate product. But one cannot deny the fact that this paper perfectly expresses the trend toward a lighter and more picturesque journalism, which will, in the opinion of all the experts in this area, certainly be definitely accepted in the coming years. MUNCE POLITICA, with its graphic liveliness, represents a definite type of the future military weekly, with characteristics of a product adapted to the reader who lives in the television age.

Filled with short articles, many photos and drawings, geographical maps and

graphs, APARAREA PATRIEI may in fact be the first prototype of the military weekly of the year 2,000, a paper that must supplement the TV and computerized information.

#### Praises and Criticism

The material is distributed like this: on the first pages, domestic political themes, then texts on the combat training of the army, themes on the cooperation of the army with the Patriotic Guard, premilitary instruction, news from the field of military technology with a twofold approach: Romanian achievements are popularized, and readers are informed about the trends and novelties in the world. The last section of the paper is reserved for culture, sport, and economy, and there are also, naturally, various contests for the readers, and their letters. This military weekly often publishes professional polemics of the experts on various problems, and it also organizes round tables. A special trait is the abundance of sports news and economic themes, which is very significant for a paper aimed mostly at young people. The journalists are specialized in various categories, but when necessary, teams are formed to deal with specific themes. There are norms for journalists, in agreement with their status and function, and the work of every individual is analyzed once a month, and everybody has a card with data about his contribution. Each journalist must publish 3 to 4 articles monthly.

Do they find it hard? One could not say this, because there is an abundance of themes, and the journalists are first class with excellent working conditions. They are present at almost all the exercises, and later praise what was good but also criticize the failures. How do those who are criticized react? There is a column "On the Track Of Published Articles," in which the criticized Romanian army officers must tell, according to the Press Law, within a reasonable time what they have done to improve the situation in their units.

"We publish the truth and only the truth," the editor-in-chief of APARAREA PATRIEI, Colonel Olaru Radu told us. We carefully examine a concrete case beforehand and decide who is right. A journalist certainly must be responsible for whatever he publishes, and then there is the party organization which looks at it all." Is there a possibility of intervention and pressure? Does a general sometimes call up and try to stop an article not to his liking?

"Such a possibility theoretically exists, but in practice it is not done, because the editor-in-chief has a great authority," Colonel Radu answered with a smile. He is a member of the Main Political Council of the Romanian Armed Forces and of the Managing Council of the Ministry of Defense.

"Nobody protests officially against critical texts, but privately maybe they do?" comrade Rady told us.

Next year will mark the 40th anniversary of the publication of APARAREA PATRIEI and the editorial staff intends to refresh the magazine with new

contributions. They are thinking of introducing foreign language courses: Russian is mandatory at all the military academies and Romanian army schools, and the cadets can choose French or English as their second foreign language. There will be more articles on the Patriotic Guard, whose units, in the historical perspective, developed out of traditional forms of the Romanian people's struggle for freedom and independence. A broader discussion on the highly developed school system of the Romanian armed forces is in preparation. The highest military school is the general military academy in Bucarest, where commanders and staff officers of all the branches of the armed forces study. There are also military academies for infantry and air force in Sibi, tank personnel and technical service in Pitesti, air defense in Brasova, and navy in Konstanta.

One specific aspect of the Romanian Army--military officials or military masters, "maistru militar"--will be examined on the pages of APARAREA PATRIEI soon. They wear black epaulettes on their uniforms and are professional military people with highly specialized qualifications. They are grouped into 5 classes and the 5th and highest is entitled "main military master." There is a very large number of candidates for this career, but there are also very strict selection principles. High school education is required, preferably technically oriented, and a 1-year work experience. It takes 4 to 6 years to advance from one class to the next, and about 20 years are necessary to become the "main military master." Otherwise, the civilian school system also has elements of military instruction; all the Romanian college and university students have a "military day" once a month, and upon completing their studies they become second lieutenants. Female officers and noncoms are responsible for the instruction of female students.

APARAREA PATRIEI will probable publish the story of Mircea next year. Mircea was the first prince of independent Vallachia and the founder of the Romanian Navy. Mircea is also the name of the training sailing ship of the Romanian Navy. Cadets frequently sail on this old sailing ship far from Romanian waters, and they found themselves in the most dangerous situation in the Bay of Biscay in 1965 when they were caught in a violent storm. Although the ship drifted for 3 days, unable to maneuver, and the French coast guard advised the crew to abandon it, the Romanians stayed on the board and Mircea was saved. It is still going at full sail.

This is a short story about the Romanian military papers and their topics. If one knows that two things are necessary to be successful in the newspaper publishing activity--money and patience--, the Romanians have both.

12455  
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YUGOSLAVIA

ARTUR LONDON DISCUSSES STALINIST METHODS, TRIALS

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 84 pp 32-34

[Article by Dusan Velickovic: "When I Started to Doubt in Stalin"]

[Text] Artur London, former deputy minister of foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia, was himself sentenced to life in prisonment at a staged public trial in Prague in 1952. He was freed in 1956, and rehabilitated only in 1968, when he published his moving book of testimonies which became a world bestseller.

In a quiet street, two large cars whose tires were squeaking, stopped a third car. At the same time, six armed men, cursing and hitting, pulled a man out of the back seat, handcuffed him and threw him into the first car which set off at high speed. The man protested and demanded that they should identify themselves. The rough way in which they tightened the blindfold was hardly an indication of the seriousness of the situation in which he found himself.

This scene looks as if it were copied from the script of a poor detective story. Unfortunately it did take place, a completely legal arrest of an innocent man. Location: Prague, the street by the Tuscan Castle. Time: midday, 28 January 1951. The arrested person: Artur London, Czechoslovak deputy foreign affairs minister, who arrived in the Ruzin jail in a comfortable automobile of the Security Service.

How My "Thoughts Are Put into Order"

"This arrest was the trial of my life," Artur London later described the first moment of his difficult situation. "Handcuffed, I saw pictures in my mind from the 20-year period I spent with the party. I was alone in the cell, desperate, but at the same time I felt a strange relief. After being suspected for a whole year after a nightmare which turned me into a hunted beast, I finally was to learn what I was blamed for. I was to be able to defend myself. I was to explain everything. This was in the interest of the party itself. I was clinging to this hope, in spite of the arrest which looked more like gangster methods than the communist ethic! I stopped walking for a second. I felt so tired. Two guards grabbed me, shook me and hit my head against the wall in order as they said to put my thoughts into order. They informed me that they would do it each time I stopped again."

Everything, or at least the larger part of the "case" was to really be clarified, although only many years later. In the meantime, Artur London will be subject to an incredible physical and psychological torture, and then brought to trial in order to play the role he was assigned in one of the most horrible and probably the most meticulously performed Stalinist staged public trials. Eleven death sentences and 3 life sentences were the result of the trial officially called, the "Trial against the leaders of the conspiratorial center against the state, led by Rudolf Slanski." Among those sentenced to death were general secretary of the CP of Czechoslovakia, Rudolf Slanski, and foreign affairs minister, Vladimir Klementis. Artur London was sentenced to life imprisonment, yet this did not mean that he had saved his neck, but only that his jailing would continue under inhuman conditions, between life and death.

Yet, under almost incredible conditions, he managed to make notes and thus to create on the spot the material for the book which would be published in 1968 and judged as one of the most authentic testimonies on the mechanism used to break the most famous revolutionaries and to stage public trials. London's "Confession" was translated into Serbo-Croatian the following year (by Belgrade's Prosveta publishing house), and soon after into Slovenian too.

#### The Manuscript in the Tobacco Pouch

"I did indeed write the book in prison, at great risk which my wife shared," London explained while we were talking in his apartment in an eastern Paris suburb. "In fact, we succeeded in smuggling out of the Ruzin prison the most important material for the book, so that "Confession" is really an authentic testimony, and not quiet reflection some 10 years later. I had one pencil, a little paper which I hid in the tobacco pouch with the cigarette paper, and a firm conviction that my life, if I was not hanged, would have meaning only if I could explain how confessions were made."

Liza Rikol-London, whom the readers of "Confession" know as an energetic and dedicated woman, ready to do anything to prove her husband's innocence, brought us the family memento--the tobacco pouch made for Artur London in jail by his friend Kevic, former Yugoslav vice-consul in Bratislava, who was also sentenced to life imprisonment.

"You see, the pouch has a false bottom," London explained to us. "This is where I hid the written pages which I folded into the size of a cigarette paper. My friend Vavro Hajdu, who also was a former deputy foreign affairs minister sentenced to life imprisonment, would first pass the folded paper through a clothes ironing machine, so that it would fit better in the tobacco pouch. In this way I wrote 7 and a half paper sheets on both sides which, when retyped, resulted in more than 60 double-spaced pages."

"His handwriting was so small," Liza London added, "that one could not read it without magnifying it. As I was allowed to bring him tobacco and cigarette paper, we managed to exchange packs during visits."

The original manuscript and the first version of the retyped pages are kept by the Londons in a Paris bank. We copy the first sentence from the photocopied sheets:

"Investigation was not done with the aim of establishing the guilt or innocence of the defendant. The guilt was established beforehand, and the party's decision, on the basis of which your arrest is made, presents proof of guilt. Hearings are held to prove the validity of the decision, i.e., the defendant's guilt."

Two years after the arrests of Rudolf Slanski, Bedrich Geminder, Ludvig Frejk, Jozef Frank, Vladimir Klementis, Bedrich Rajcin, Karel Svaba, Vavro Hajdu, Eugen Lebl, Rudolf Magolius, Oto Fisl, Oto Sling, Andre Simon and Artur London, their previously determined "guilt," as the public prosecutor put it, was reflected in the fact that "as traitors, Trotskyists-Titoists-Zionists, bourgeois nationalists and enemies of the Czechoslovak people, of the regime of people's democracy and of socialism, serving American imperialists, and led by hostile western intelligence agencies, they created a conspiracy center against the state, tried to undermine the foundations of the regime of people's democracy, impede the building of socialism, and damage national economy, they engaged in spying, tried to weaken the unity of the Czechoslovak people and the combat-readiness of the republic, with the aim of separating it from the firm alliance with the Soviet Union, and to destroy the friendship between the CSR and the USSR."

#### Stalinist Methods

It took 2 years from the arrest to the public trial to obtain the admission of guilt from the 14 innocent defendants, according to Josif Visarionovic's method. Contrary to all the legal principles, the defendant's admission was apparently sufficient to pronounce the most rigorous sentences.

But how were the admissions made? How did Artur London, member of the Communist Youth since his 13th year, combatant in Spanish International Brigades, member of the French resistance movement, Mathausen concentration camp inmate, a man with a faultless and brave revolutionary biography, admit the most incredible accusations and agree to recite at the trial, in the Prague Pankrac courthouse, on 20 November 1952, the confession text he had learned by heart?

"I tried to explain this in my book," said London, "But I am still asking myself the same question. We are dealing here, first of all, with terror, pressure that is not only physical but also psychological, moral. Methods varied greatly and the lack of sleep was one of the most frequent and most effective. One cannot imagine what a torture it is not to be allowed to sleep for even a shortest period for days on end. The worst physical torture might not be as painful as this one. Yet I think that what affected us the most was the fact that we were accused by our people. It is easy to stand before the enemy, but how can a man who had unconditional trust in the communist movement, the Soviet Union and Stalin behave

in front of his own party? These are situations in which an entire life stops having any sense. Once, answering his daughter's questions, in some kind of social game of "confession," Marx answered that his basic motto was to "doubt everything." This is what we lacked. Our trust and our faith were unconditional.

The doubt, thus, was lacking. Yet there were many reasons to doubt. No special reflection was necessary to arrive at Marx's *de omnibus dubitandum*. Anyway, in the 1930's, during the largest purges, Artur London worked in Moscow as a member of the International Communist Youth, personally knew Laslo Rajk who was sentenced to death at a similar trial in Budapest; his best friends were Yugoslavs, Spanish volunteers who were mentioned at practically all the post-1948 staged trials as Trotkyites and Titoists. It was enough to know them to be sent to the gallows. Was not all this a sufficient reason to doubt?

"It is true that during Stalin's trials I was in Moscow. I knew that people were disappearing, but I did not understand the mechanism of Stalinist coercion and terror. Moreover, it was said about the people who suddenly disappeared that they had illegally returned to their countries. Nobody knew that they were arrested and sent to Siberia. The year 1948 was a moment of doubt indeed, especially for me. I was a close friend of many Yugoslavs in Spain: Kidric, Savic, Dapcevic, Udovicki... It turned out later that every contact with Yugoslavs could be a proof of espionage and treason. It was like this at the trials in Budapest and Sofia, and at our trial in Prague. The prosecutor shouted several times in a menacing voice: 'Czechoslovakia will not be another Yugoslavia.' Yet people admitted their guilt at all the trials, and this ultimately prevented us from doubting. Or the doubt was hidden. Thus, for example, my friend Hajdu admitted to me once while we were peeling potatoes in the Ruzin jail that he had been feeling guilty for years because he could not believe the Moscow trials."

#### A Tragic Farce

Artur London remembers the Pankrac trial itself as a ghastly farce, staged in every detail:

"All the statements of the defendants, which each of us had to learn by heart, were recorded on the magnetic tape. Tanned by means of ultraviolet lamps and refreshed a little with medication after the long torture, we were told that a group of inquirers would carefully monitor our statements and that, in case one of the defendants would stray from his text, they would give a command to the chairman of the court over a special signalling system to interrupt the process. Something like this really happened at the Sofia trial when Trajco Kostov tried to withdraw his admission in the courtroom. His microphone was immediately turned off and numerous witnesses testifying against him started to come out."

This time the staging was faultless, except for one moment when the pants fell from the emaciated body of Oto Sling, former secretary of the district committee of the CPCZ in Brno, while he was uttering the learned text and gesticulating uncontrollably.

"The comic picture of our comrade in underpants," London said, "provoked a loud, hysterical laughter. The entire courtroom and the members of the court laughed. It was only a pretext which allowed the actors in a horrible tragedy to indulge in collective relaxation."

The farce ended as a tragedy. All the defendants "admitted" their guilt without a single word of vacillation and, as it has been learned much later, all of them, except for Rudolf Slanski, wrote letters to their families and to President Klement Gottwald in which they maintained that they were innocent and that they consented to confess "exclusively in the interest of the Party and socialism." The last act of this drama was impressively described several years later in the Czech periodical REPORTER:

"When the 11 condemned men were executed, the investigator D. happened to be in the Ruzin jail with the (Soviet) advisor Galkin. A chauffeur and 2 investigators were present when reports were given. They had the task of getting rid of the ashes. They said that they put the ashes into a potato bag and that they went outside Prague with the intention of scattering the ashes over a field. When they saw that the road was icy, they came up with the idea of scattering the ashes over the road. The chauffeur laughed telling that he had never before transported 14 people at the same time in his Tatra, 3 live persons and 11 in a bag..."

"Gerard, You Are Free"

The confession of Liza Rikol-London, whom Artur London met and married in the 1930's in Moscow, where she worked as a member of the French CP is certainly one of the authentic and moving testimonies about the time of the Stalinist bureaucracy. We are giving her story here in a quite condensed form.

"When Gerard was arrested," Lisa explained, calling her husband always by his illegal name, "a complete void was created around me. Friends disappeared all of a sudden, nobody called me, nobody visited me. Except for my parents, who were with me in Prague, I was in contact only with my sister who was married to Raymond Guiau, a member of the Politburo of the French CP. I immediately lost my job at the radio and had to work in a factory as an unskilled worker. The same thing happened to my sister who was the treasurer in the International Peace Movement."

She then told details about the Londons' struggle for a review of the trial and the rehabilitation of the condemned innocent people. In this story full of tragic turns in which Artur, suffering from TB in both lungs, was close to death, we notice some well-known names. Louis Aragon, who traveled through Prague with Elsa Triolet in 1954 on the way to Moscow

where he was to be the chairman at the award ceremony of the Lenin Prize, fruitlessly tried to meet with Lisa London. He told her later on, in Paris, that he had never believed in the accusation. Ilya Ehrenburg also told her on one occasion that he did not believe in London's guilt and promised his support. Francois Mitterand, internal affairs minister in Mendes-France's cabinet intervened to obtain Lisa London's visa for her return to France. We learned that Gustav Husak, condemned as the leader of the so-called group of Slovak bourgeois nationalists, experienced a similar fate.

In the winter of 1956, Artur London's treatment became a little more human. He was put into the sanatorium in Pleso, which was an incredible change in comparison with the rough prison camp conditions in Ruzin or castle Kolodeja. The news about his release reached him in a really unusual way:

"I remember as if it were today," Artur London said. "I noticed that somebody was pushing through the thick snow in the valley and waving his hands. I recognized Lisa's voice soon: You're free, Gerard, you're free! They told me that the decision about your rehabilitation was taken 2 days ago. Only they forgot to inform us about it!"

#### "The Bourgeois Read Expensive Books"

It was necessary to wait 12 more years for the final and complete rehabilitation.

"It was hard for them to forgive us their own mistakes," Artur London said ironically.

The rehabilitation was completed in the summer 1968. Artur London came back to Prague with great publicity to receive the highest decoration. He also took the manuscript of his "Confessions". By an unusual turn of events, foreign troops arrived in the same city 5 hours later. Tanks were already on the streets, but there was still time for the manuscript to reach the publisher. The book will have a greater repercussion and will be translated into 18 languages. Reactions were very varied. At the end of this conversation we note just two such unusual reviews of London's book:

"When the book appeared in Paris Gallimard edition," Artur London relates, "one high official of the French CP asked for its price. I answered that the book cost 33 francs. 'Then it is all right,' he answered, 'expensive books are ready by the bourgeois, not by workers.'"

A somewhat different reaction arrived just these days from distant Chile. A young Chilean, member of the illegal United Socialist Front, inmate in a Pinochet's prison, sent a letter to London:

"We succeeded in obtaining one copy of the "Confessions". In order not to be caught, we agreed that each of us would have only 48 hours to read the book. On the basis of your book we are now debating what we should not do in order to make socialism in our country successful."

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YUGOSLAVIA

EX-AGENT IN WEST GERMANY RECEIVES LIGHT SENTENCE

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 20 Jul 84 p 13

[Article by Claus Bienfait: "Consular Officials Pull Strings--Is Yugoslav Government Arranging to Liquidate Annoying Critics in Exile?"]

[Text] Munich/Frankfurt am Main- - The sentence had barely been pronounced when a woman from the audience rushed toward the defendant. "You murderer," she shouted into his face, "you will not escape your just reward." An unmistakable gesture to the neck left no doubt as to the type of justice she had in mind.

The widow of writer Ante Kostic, the man shot in October 1981 in front of his Munich residence, was not alone in deplored the sentence of 38-year-old Josip Majerski, a long-time employee of the Yugoslav Secret Service. All active opponents of the regime felt that 2 years and 10 months in prison was much too little for a man they suspected of preparing various murder attempts on Croatian "freedom fighters" and who, as one of them stated on the witness stand, "has betrayed all of our people."

However, these were not the issues before the third criminal chamber of the highest Bavarian state court. The mere suggestion by Majerski's defense counsel that he could summon the ambassador of the People's Republic of Yugoslavia and other diplomats as witnesses--and possibly even seek indictments against some of them--apparently induced the office of the district attorney to use restraint in the wording of the indictment. The former agent was only accused of very general intelligence activities and of one count of inciting to attempt arson.

Foreign policy considerations were involved. The potentially explosive trial was to be staged as quietly as possible. Conditions were favorable. After judicial authorities had repeatedly stated that the main proceedings would not start until fall at the earliest an open date was nevertheless found for the trial in early July, much to everybody's surprise. The schedule was so tight that the summons could barely be issued in time to meet legal requirements. The risk of untimely publicity was further reduced by the printers' strike; as a result, not a single spectator was present on the first day of the trial. It was a private affair.

In the end, things did not work out as planned because of the comprehensive confession of Josip Majerski whom the State Security Office categorized as a high-ranking defector. Belgrade authorities probably suffered prolonged pain as a result of Majerski's detailed information on the structure of the Yugoslav Secret Service and its unscrupulous actions against emigrants in Germany. Moreover, the names he revealed should also force the federal government to act. Among them were: Radoslav Simic, currently assistant to the Bonn ambassador, who had recruited Majerski; Djure Pintaric, now retired in his native country, who was then consul in Freiburg and chief resident-agent for the secret service; Sime Jelic, then consul in Nuremberg and now head of the Dortmund consulate, was his superior agent.

These allegedly honorable gentlemen provided Majerski with money and weapons and assigned him the task of infiltrating in various exile organizations to uncover the habits of their leading members, provide site-plans for their residences, and also to encourage--as agent provocateur--the use of force. For this dirty work he was paid DM 2,000 per month. The defendant himself explained that it was only when he was ordered to kill Bruno Busic, then the most prominent opponent of the regime in Paris, that he refused to carry out his superiors' orders. This did not help the victim since someone else accomplished the task of killing him.

Whereas the court in Munich kept the proceedings short and pronounced the light sentence after only 6 days, the so-called Zenelzj trial in Frankfurt dragged out for 2 years and 6 months. As chance would have it, the trial also ended last week. The 20th great criminal chamber of the state court sentenced Zorica Aleksic--the woman who shot and crippled the Albanian born Rasim Zenelaj in May 1981--to 7 years and 6 months imprisonment and Iso Dautovski--the man who had planned the deed and provided the pistol--to 13 years imprisonment as an accessory to attempted murder. Codefendant Miroslav Illic escaped with 1 year probation.

In this trial the district attorney and the defense counsel also agreed for a time to play down the trial's political significance in their common interest. Only the counsel for co-plaintiff Zenelaj, Attorney Helmut Rosebrock, presented the case in its wider context in his brilliant final plea. He pointed to the cross connections to the Yugoslav Consulate General; reminded his listeners of the disturbances in Kosovo which directly preceded the fateful shots at his client; and, with historical excursions, he demonstrated that totalitarian states always invoke external threats to divert from internal problems and that it was, therefore, only logical for their governments to look for means of eliminating their most prominent critics ahead.

In the end the court also dared to name openly the "Yugoslav Secret Service" and "at least some consular officials" for pulling the strings for the attempted murder. Presiding Judge Heinrich Becker--when asked a short time later in front of a TV camera whether the unequivocal words he used in his opinion, might deter future killings--stated realistically: "No, I am afraid that a secret service which is accustomed to using murder to accomplish its goals will not be deterred by us."